DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 023 466 PS 001 269

By-Sigel, Irving; Waters, Elinor
Child Development and Social Science Education. Part III: Abstracts of Relevant Literature.
Merrill Palmer Inst., Detroit, Mich.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
Pub Date Mar 66
Note-91p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$4.65
Descriptors-Abstracts, *Annotated Bibliographies, Anthropology, *Child Development, *Curriculum Development, Economics, Political Science, Psychology, *Publications, *Social Sciences, Sociology

Part III of a four-part report contains over 60 annotated abstarcts of child development source materials relevant to the construction of social studies curriculums. For this collection, social sciences were defined as anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, and psychology. An accepted operational definition was that a social science concept is any term that is inclusive of a number of things, instances, or events. Abstracts were culled from major journals and other collections of writings concerning social science disciplines. Articles on the content and strategy of teaching social science were chosen on the basis of use to a practitioner, whether classroom teacher or curriculum specialist. (MS)

SOCIAL
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CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION.

PART III: ABSTRACTS OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

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CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION.

PART III: ABSTRACTS OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

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Human Development and
Family Life

Publication #112 of the
Social Science Education Consortium

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, under the provisions of the Cooperative Research Program.

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FOREWORD

This publication is Part III of a four-part report on a study of the relevance of existing knowledge about child development to social science curriculum development. The study, directed by Dr. Irving Sigel, of the Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life, was supported by a developmental contract of the United States Office of Education, made with Purdue University for the Social Science Education Consortium.

Part I describes the problem of inadequate communication between developmental psychologists and curriculum workers, and suggests some directions for cooperative efforts between the two groups. Part II reports on a test run of such a cooperative effort, in which developmental psychologists applied the findings of their profession to specific problems posed by social science educators.

This report, Part III, consists of 67 abstracts of child development source materials which the Merrill-Palmer group felt are most relevant to the problems of constructing sound social studies curricula. Part IV is "A Teaching Strategy for the Social Sciences Derived from Some Piagetian Concepts".

It is the hope of the Consortium that these reports will help point the way to a much more extensive cooperative effort between developmental psychologists and social science curriculum workers.

Irving Morrissett

March, 1966

PREFACE

This Part includes abstracts of a number of studies relevant for the development of social science curricula. These abstracts provide a good sample of material available in the research literature to facilitate the building of social science curricula at all grade levels.

These abstracts are based on a review of a number of journals and other collections of writings, each of which deals with particular social science disciplines. We tried to select those articles which the practitioner, whether a classroom teacher or curriculum specialist, would find useful, in working out the content as well as the strategy of teaching social science.

Our first problem was to define the social sciences. We identified these as anthropology, sociology, economics, political science and psychology--the major disciplines concerned with the study of man. Admittedly this decision was arbitrary, since there are some differences of opinion as to what disciplines make up the social sciences. Once we made this decision, our next task was to decide what kinds of articles we would include. There are many types of material available in the literature relevant to social science--some dealing with acquisition of social concepts, others primarily descriptive in nature, detailing existing knowledge of children. Still others study the learning process irrespective of content. We decided to exclude those studies which did not have substantive findings dealing with particular social science concepts, even though they do contribute to an understanding of concept acquisition.

Our next problem, then, was to decide what a social science concept is. This is more difficult than appears at first blush. A concept has been variously defined by psychologists, educators and philosophers. We took the path of least resistance and used an operational definition: any term that is inclusive of a number of things, instances or events is a concept. Thus, we would study the family, government, leadership, and the like, as social science concepts. For us, the various areas within each of the social sciences that had a class label or categorical statement was sufficient to be considered a concept. Thus, the child's notion of money, and the child's notion of leadership, would be considered concepts.

Literature dealing with research on children's acquisition of social science concepts is scattered throughout many journals and many disciplines. To the best of our knowledge, there was no systematic review of all of this material in any single place. Although in our search we covered many of the major journals, this review does not presume to be inclusive and exhaustive. To make an exhaustive survey would require considerably more time and energy than we had available. The multitude of journals in education and psychology poses an overwhelming task for any reviewer. The abstracts do not include the textbooks that are being written or the monographs that focus on specific areas. The efforts presented here are a first step in what should be a continuing process of collating all the research efforts focused on the child's acquisition of social science concepts.

Interest in the child's development of social concepts is certainly not new. Over the years a number of studies have been done in the colleges of education; some have ended up as unpublished dissertations, others were informal studies done by teachers and others as information-gathering activities.

The primary interest of these studies is to discover what children know, how they acquire this knowledge, and what are their capabilities or competencies in dealing with various levels of information. The interest extends to problems of acquisition and retrieval of information. Increased understanding of children's cognitive, or intellectual, development has made us increasingly aware that particular processes are involved in such knowledge acquisition. The diversity of points of view regarding this process of acqusition adds some confusion to our current state of knowledge. We have yet to create the integrative educational science discipline which brings together the divergent theoretical and empirical statements made by the many investigators dealing with children's thinking. Even comprehensive reviews of children's thinking as expressed in Russell's book, Children's Thinking, leave discrete areas unrelated to each other. Yet the teacher must try to understand an organism which functions as a unit--the child.

The learning theories derived from Hull and Skinner have focused primarily on the learning process, without particular concern for the content to be learned. Other investigators, such as Piaget, Ausubel, and Osgood, have been concerned with the content as well as the process of knowledge acquisition, although each has differed in his approach.

Piaget, for example, has studied acquisition of moral, geometric, space, number, and other concepts. Osgood and Ausubel have been concerned with different methods of organizing meaningful material.

How relevant all this is to the classroom teacher varies with the degree of theoretical or conceptual sophistication deemed necessary for classroom performance. The writer considers a theoretical basis of the learning process important, because it enables the teacher not only to understand how the child learns, but also what kinds of teaching strategies may be invoked in facilitating or enabling the child to learn. Teachers implicitly or explicitly have some concept of learning processes, which affects the way he organizes a course, presents materials and works with the children.

How should this material be used and what is its purpose? There are at least two possible ways: (1) To show the educator the substantive knowledge available in child development literature, relevant to the child's acquisition of social science concepts. The literature should shed some light on the child's understandings and competencies; it should show the teachers the scope of information that children have, the way they organize and deal with this information, and the level of understanding they have of it. (2) To help in making decisions on the organization of materials and the timing of their introduction. Thus, if we find from the research literature at what age the child is likely to understand the principle of reciprocity, then one would introduce at that age the social studies concepts requiring comprehension of this principle.

The reader should distinguish between process and substance. By process is meant the ability to think in certain ways and to handle concepts at various levels of complexity. Substance refers to specific information; even though the child is able to think in hypothetical-deductive terms, he must still begin the acquisition of information about a specific subject at an elementary level.

The material reviewed in the abstracts can help guide the introduction of content at the various grade levels; here the substantive knowledge becomes important. Some of the reports indicate that children have wider knowledge than is generally expected, while, at the same time, it is also clear that children have erroneous information or complete voids in some realms of social information. Also, there are variations with age in children's understanding of some events; research on the assassination of President Kennedy, for example, shows marked and systematic differences, by age level, in perception of the event.

The studies reported here have not been evaluated as to their quality. The degree of confidence one can have in these studies varies. We selected studies mostly from scholarly journals whose standards are good. However, some materials were abstracted, about which we had some question, because they raised interesting issues and pointed to interesting directions. Although most of the work abstracted is of good research quality, the reader will have to assume some responsibility in evaluating and applying it. He should look at its relevance to the population of children concerned as well as the characteristics of his own and the children's setting.

These caveats raise the question of the appropriateness of generalizing findings based on laboratory-type research to the classroom. This is a critical problem to which the teacher should have had some exposure in his training. Realistically, we realize that most colleges of education do not teach their students how to read, interpret and evaluate research literature. This may be a principal reason why there is not more innovation in educational circles, even though research literature suggests that new and interesting procedures should be tried.

In reviewing the literature, we considered the importance of helping the teacher to understand the theoretical framework within which the experimenter is working. Most investigators have a theoretical or conceptual point of view which is expressed not only in the quality but also in the kind of research they carry out.

The application of research literature to the classroom situation is a complex problem fraught with dangers of overgeneralization. In fact, the application itself becomes a research problem--how feasible it is and how effective are these innovations. This dilemma is unavoidable, since teaching is a complex act drawing on the contributions of a host of specialists and technicians. There will always be a gap between the research and the learner. The size of the gap depends on the training, the opportunities to learn,and the ancillary aids teachers are given to help them carry out their very responsible and difficult task.

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BRONFENBRENNER, URIE, "Freudian Theories of Identification and Their Derivatives," Child Development, 1960, 31, 15-40.

Purpose: The author's intent was to review the literature on identification. The theories of identification which were covered were Freudian theory, Stoke's theory, Mowrer's theory, Sanford's theory, Sears' theory, and Parsonian theory.

Conclusion: The author concludes that the term identification has been used to refer to three classes of phenomena:

(1) Identification as behavior: A behaves in the manner of B.

    (a) actions of A are learned through taking as a model the actions of B.
    (b) actions of A are similar to actions of B never seen by A because these actions are reinforced in A by B.
    (c) identification in overt behavior of A with an ideal standard never actually exhibited by B.

(2) Identification as a motive: a disposition to act like another.

(3) *Identification as a process:* the mechanism through which behavior and motives of a model are learned or emulated.

KOHLBERG, LAWRENCE, "Moral Development and Identification," in H. W. Stevenson (Ed.), The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1963, Part I, Child Psychology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 277-332.

Purpose: The purpose of the paper was to review existing literature on moral development up until about 1963, and to interpret the evidence accumulated with regard to various theoretical approaches. Those theoretical approaches included were learning theory, psychoanalytic conceptions of identification and morality, role-learning theories, and developmental theories.

Results: The evidence accumulated, and its relationship to the theoretical approaches considered, is too lengthy to repeat here. The reader is referred to the article.

ALLINSMITH, WESLEY, "The Learning of Moral Standards," in D. R. Miller & G. E. Swanson, Inner Conflict and Defense, New York: Holt, 1960, 141-176.

Purpose: The purpose of the study was to investigate the relationship between various responses to transgression -- resistance, feelings of guilt after violation of norms, and externalization of guilt (a defense mechanism) after violation of norms -- and certain childrearing antecedents -- early vs. late weaning, severity of toilet training, type of discipline and reasonableness of parental requests for obedience -- as well as social class, intelligence and age (below 13 to over 13 years of age). Three types of transgression situations were investigated -- death wishes, theft and disobedience.

Method: A story completion test was administered to 112 S's from just below 13 years of age to just above it. They were divided on the basis of I.Q. and social class. The situations involved in the stories -- concerned with death wishes, theft and disobedience -- were designed to eliminate the extraneous influences of perceived approval or disapproval or punishment from authorities for resisting or not resisting temptation, respectively. Antecedent childrearing practices were obtained from mother interviews, and the perceived source of standard for those S's who projected resistance to temptation were obtained from interviews with the S's.

Results:

(1) Severity of guilt

(a) With regard to death wishes which come true, there appeared to be a curvilinear relationship between severity of guilt and severity of toilet training, early-late weaning, and type of discipline (corporal-minded-psychological) with social class controlled, although the measures used may have obscured results.

(b) With regard to theft, low severity of guilt appeared to be related to early weaning.

ALLINSMITH, "The Learning of Moral Standards," (cont.)

- (c) With regard to disobedience, early weaning and severe toilet training were related to low severity of guilt.
- (d) In conclusion, it was suggested that severity of guilt in one area was not necessarily related to severity of guilt in another.

(2) Externalization

- (a) With regard to theft, mixed discipline led to less externalization.
- (b) No significant relationships were found with regard to disobedience.

(3) Resistance to temptation

- (a) Concerning theft, reasonable parental requests for obedience led to greater resistance.
- (b) The same results were found for disobedience as for theft.

(4) Perceived sources of standards

- (a) More S's from the middle class revealed inner certainty.
- (b) Severe toilet training and mixed discipline led to more inner certainty.

(5) Interrelations among variables

- (a) Externalization was negatively related to resistance to temptation and resistance to temptation was related to greater inner certainty, but inner certainty was not related at all to the externalization.
- (b) Resistance to temptation appeared to be a function of the tendency to be aware of standards before transgression and of the propensity not to defend against guilt after misconduct.
- (c) Mixed discipline led to greater inner certainty and less externalization than corporal or psychological punishment.

ARONFREED, J., "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms upon Two Moral Responses to Transgression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, 437-448.

Purpose: The author felt that previous research in moral development had assumed an underlying unity in the forms of response or in the sources of moral behavior which obscured differences between specific responses and

ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

distinct antecedents. He therefore experimentally examined the specific conditions of reinforcement affecting children's uses of two moral responses to transgression, self-criticism and reparation. It was hypothesized, in the first experiment, that providing the child with high cognitive structure (verbalizing standards that can be used in evaluation of his behavior) and high control over his own punishment, when he transgresses, will lead to more self-criticism and reparation than providing the child with low cognitive structure and low control. Because of the need to improve the design of the first experiment a second experiment was run. In this one it was hypothesized that self-criticism would be more affected by high cognitive structure than control over punishment and that reparation would be greater when the child had control over punishment, than when the child was provided with cognitive structure.

Method: The method was approximately the same in both experiments but in the first the two independent variables were not independently manipulated while in the second they were. In the first experiment only two conditions were created -- high cognitive structure, high control; and low cognitive structure, low control. In the second experiment four conditions were created -- high cognitive structure linked with both low and high control, and low cognitive structure linked with both low and high control.

Each child was brought individually into the experimental room and asked to play a game. The game consisted of pushing a doll by means of a hoe-like object through a group of toy soldiers. The object was to push the doll into a box below the table without pushing over the toy soldiers. Tootsy-rolls

ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

were taken away when soldiers were knocked down, and transgression was assumed because of the difficulty of the task. This is what the socialization series consisted of. High or low control was manipulated by letting or not letting the child decide how many tootsy-rolls he should lose after each trial. High or low cognitive structure was manipulated by having E provide or not provide standards (careful and gentle) by means of which the child could come to judge his own behavior.

The subjects in the first experiment were 57 fifth-grade girls from two homogeneous (working-class) public schools in an urban area. In the second experiment, 68 fifth-grade middle-class boys from the same schools were used.

Results:

(1) Experiment One: The test series consisted of the E secretly breaking the doll and then providing verbal stimuli, if necessary, to see if the child would offer reparation or engage in self-criticism (the child was led to believe it was his own fault).

  (a) Most children came out with self-critical or reparative responses only after verbal eliciting stimuli were offered.
  (b) Self-critical responses did not merely reflect the experimental treatment because the children did not just reiterate the verbal responses of E (gentle and careful).
  (c) Self-critical and reparative responses were more frequent (in terms of number of children giving them) under conditions of high control and high cognitive structure than low control and low cognitive structure, but the extent to which each independent variable contributed to the effect was uncertain because they were varied concommitantly.

(2) Experiment Two: Same test trial as in Experiment One:

  (a) Again, self-critical or reparative responses were not given spontaneously but only after verbal eliciting stimuli.
  (b) Self-critical responses were more likely to occur under high cognitive structure than under low, regardless of high or low control.
  (c) Control over punishment, regardless of high or low cognitive structure, had no effect on self-criticism.

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ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

(d) Control over punishment had the most effect upon reparative responses, but only under conditions of high cognitive structure (only a trend in this direction existing under low cognitive structure), although cognitive structure, per se, did not affect reparative responses.

ARONFREED, J., "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 223-240.

Purpose: Firstly, the author wished to clarify the relationship between certain kinds of responses to transgression and the presence of moral development (use of standards to evaluate one's actions, thoughts, and feelings). For this purpose the author developed a classification system of responses to transgression. Secondly, the author wanted to test certain hypotheses about the relationship between certain variables such as sex, social class, IQ, and childrearing practices and moral development.

Procedure: The author used a projective technique (asking the S's to react to five transgression situations) to measure reactions to transgression. One hundred twenty-two white children in the sixth grade in two public schools in an urban area were used, with representation of both sexes, and the middle and working classes (as measured by father's occupation). IQ scores were also obtained from school records. Childrearing techniques were assessed by means of an interview with mothers of the children. Responses to transgression were classified in terms of (1) self-criticism--self-evaluation indicated; (2) correction of deviance--responses attempting to return to appropriate social boundaries of behavior; (3) degree of activity in self-correction, (4) external resolution--consequences of transgression defined by external events; and (5) externally oriented initiation.

ARONFREED, "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," (cont.)

and performance of moral responses. Mother's discipline techniques were classified in terms of induction (methods that tend to induce in the child reactions to his own transgressions that become independent of original external stimulus sources) or sensitization (all forms of physical punishments and uncontrolled verbal assaults which merely sensitize child to anticipation of punishment and the importance of external demands and expectations in defining appropriate responses).

Results:

(1) Self-critical responses occurred in only one-fourth of S's, and even then it was not recurrent (occurring in only 28% of stories).

(2) Self-criticism rarely occurred in combination with either corrections of deviance or external resolution, indicating that any forms of correction of deviance do not presuppose the existence of self-evalutation, and that external resolution is not an elaboration functioning to avoid self-criticism. Kinds of correction of deviance may be merely instrumental responses to reduce anxiety or to avoid anticipated external punishment.

(3) Correction of deviance was the most characteristic moral response (usually in the form of confession or reparation), but because these responses were not always high in extent of activity of self-correction their value as indices of moral autonomy is uncertain.

(4) Externally deferred responses were common.

(5) The middle class, regardless of sex, showed more self-criticism and less external resolution than the working class; boys, regardless of social class, showed less emphasis on external responsibility and were less dependent upon external initiation than girls. Social class differences center upon the distinction between moral consequences defined either in terms of child's own actions or in terms of external events, while sex differences center upon the variability in the extent to which moral consequences which occur in child's own actions need the support of the external environment.

(6) There were no status differences in correction of deviance.

ARONFREED, "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," (cont.)

(7) There was no relationship between I.Q. and any of the types of response to transgression.

(8) Induction techniques were used more by middle-class mothers than working-class mothers, while working-class mothers more often used sensitization techniques. There were no differences in the type of discipline used with the two sexes.

(9) Across social class and sex, reparation and self-initiated acceptance of responsibility were greater under induction than sensitization disciplinary techniques, and external resolutions in the form of unpleasant fortuitous events was greater under sensitization than induction.

ARONFREED, J., "The Origin of Self-Criticism," Psychological Review, 1964, 71, 193-218.

Purpose: The purpose of the experiments reported in this study was to demonstrate that self-criticism is an instrumental response to reducing anxiety which arises from transgression. Induction of self-criticism should consequently be enhanced if the model's critical labels coincide with response-produced cues' termination, which are associated with transgression. To test an opposing theory of the origin of self-criticism, which states that it is a consequence of generalized identification with a nurturant model, the author introduced a condition with a nurturant E. According to this identification theory, the adoption of a model's criticism should not be contigent upon the timing of the criticism with respect to the onset and termination of anxiety. The persistence of self-criticism was also investigated.

Method: Subjects were 89 girls from the fourth and fifth grades in two public schools. They were to guess how many dolls were behind a screen by pushing down the appropriate number of levers on a complicated looking machine. They

ARONFREED, "The Origin of Self-Criticism," (cont.)

were told there were two ways of working the machine--the blue and red. Blue responses were transgression responses signaled by the buzzer operated by E. On these trials S lost tootsy-rolls. The buzzer did not come on and no tootsy-rolls were lost on red trials.

Four conditions were used: (1) labeling at termination of punishment (LTP); (2) labeling at onset of punishment (LOP); (3) nurturance and LOP - same as condition (2) but on all but transgression trials E was very nurturant and warm; (4) labeling without punishment (control). On the first test trial (a blue trial), when the buzzer came on, E asked S in preoccupied manner what had happened. Verbal stimuli were used to see if S would apply the blue label to herself. On the next test trial S was told beforehand that because E was tired she would report what happened herself. The last trial was a red trial and proceeded in the same way as the second trial.

To test for the extinction of self-critical responses, three extinction paradigms were applied to S's run through the LTP socialization paradigms.

Results:

(1) Self-critical responses were learned by more S's under the LTP condition than under the LOP or nurturant LOP condition, indicating that self-critical responses are indeed anxiety instrumental responses.

(2) There were no significant differences between the nurturant and non-nurturant LOP conditions (which were similar to the control conditions) indicating that a nurturant model does not affect the acquisition of self-critical responses. It is suggested by the author, however, that a minimum amount of nurturance may be necessary, for with extreme punitiveness competing escape responses may be come more closely associated with the reduction of anxiety.

(3) Extinction was not successful under any three of the extinction paradigms, and all three were the same in this respect.

BURTON, R. V., MACCOBY, E. E., & ALLINSMITH, W., "Antecedents of Resistance to Temptation in Four-Year-Old Children," Child Development, 1961, 32, 689-710.

Purpose: Using interview and experimental techniques, the authors tried to predict resistance to temptation (in an experimental situation) on the basis of childrearing practices and childhood behavior (as reported by the mother). It was suggested that learning theory would predict different relationships of a certain nature than would identification theories.

Method: Children, 90 boys and 37 girls, all four-year-olds in a private nursery in one of four districts in Boston (all middle class), were brought individually into an experimental room to play a bean-bag game. They were explained the rules twice, playing the game twice (once for fun and the second time for a prize). E, unknown to the children, manipulated the game and observed behavior, while playing the game the second time, which was rigged. E left the room and gave instructions making cheating without getting caught obviously possible (such as saying he would knock before he entered the room again). The amount of cheating for each child was recorded on a scale.

Childrearing practices and past childhood behavior were obtained from intensive interviews with the mothers.

Results:

(1) A positive relationship was found between activity level before one year and up to two years, and resistance to temptation, presumably because mothers who report high activity are reporting their perceptions and their reactions to such a perception would be that the child is exposed to temptation more and so should be controlled more (especially during reaching and touching years). No relationship was found between current activity level and resistance to persuasion.

(2) Heavy socialization pressure on boys (in the form of severe weaning and extended toilet training) led to greater resistance.

BURTON et al., "Antecedents to Resistance to Temptation (cont.)

(3) Anxiety as measured by fearfulness of new situations and timidity when meeting new people was associated with non-cheating, while anxiety as measured by reactions to sex differences, isolation and withdrawal of attention were associated with cheating.

(4) The timing of punishment, whether it comes before or after transgression, and its relationship to resistance was ambiguous because of the use of the interview technique.

(5) The relationships between extent and severity of rules, restrictions and demands, and the consistency and clarity on the part of the mother in establishing them and resistance to temptation were ambiguous because of the use of the interview technique.

(6) A negative relationship was found between a report by the mother of a child's understanding of rules and cheating and actual cheating for girls only (it was positive for boys). This may have been due to the fact that different rules are thought of by the mother when referring to girls rather than boys, or it may mean that boys conform more to a mother's teaching of the rules (because social reinforcement is more effective when administered by the opposite sex).

(7) Resistance to persuasion was related more to physical than psychological punishment, which may be a result of poor measure or which may mean that such a relationship holds for younger children but reverse itself with increasing age.

(8) There was a negative relationship between resistance to temptation and conscience development as reported by the mother, which may reflect again poor measuring instruments or may indicate the fact that conditions for the development of guilt and resistance to temptation are different.

(9) Conscience development as reported by the mother was related to a low use of physical punishment, high use of reasoning, high use of praise as reward, high natural warmth, and was non-significantly related to low use of tangible rewards and deprivation of privileges and a high use of isolation.

GRINDER, R. E., "Parental Childrearing Practices, Conscience and Resistance to Temptation of Sixth-Grade Children," Child Development, 1962, 33, 802-820.

Purpose: The author wanted to investigate the relationships between certain childrearing practices and resistance to temptation. The author actually

GRINDER, "Parental Childrearing Practices," (cont.)

implicitly assumes more than one theoretical position, from which he draws his hypothesis (for instance, Whiting's status envy hypothesis with regard to nurturance and punitiveness and a learning theory formulation with regard to timing of punishment and resistance to temptation and guilt - at least in part). The hypotheses are:

(1) Nurturant parents will lead to more resistance than cold parents.

(2) Parents imposing a high level of demands and restrictions will induce more resistance than those imposing a low level.

(3) Psychological discipline will lead to more resistance than physically oriented discipline techniques.

(4) Enforcing a high level of obedience leads to more resistance than enforcing a low level.

(5) Early and/or severe weaning will lead to more resistance than late and/or less severe weaning.

(6) Early and/or severe toilet training leads to more resistance than late and/or less severe toilet training.

(7) High pressure against overt sexual behavior will lead to more resistance than low pressure.

(8) Severe punishment of overt expression of aggression leads to more resistance than low pressure.

(9) Most parents punish children after they transgress, not before, which means that guilt reactions will develop before resistance, but resistance will also develop because anxiety anticipatory of guilt will serve as an avoidance cue; if punishment came before transgression resistance would develop but not guilt. However, because punishment normally follows transgression, resistance and guilt will be highly related for the relatively developed conscience.

Method: Subjects were 140 sixth-graders in Boston public schools/ representing both sexes, various socio-economic levels and religions. All had been observed six years earlier as part of the Sears, Maccoby and Leven study. Childrearing practices were obtained from mother interviews. Resistance to temptation was obtained by observing cheating in a game situation where all

GRINDER, "Parental Childrearing Practices," (cont.)

children could cheat without getting caught (but were actually observed), and where all children were offered the same prize (badges) for winning at the game. The game was a ray-gun shooting game.

Results:

(1) 70% of the S's yielded to temptation and 30% did not; there were no significant sex differences.

(2) For boys, resistance was significantly associated with high parental standards for neatness and orderliness, and short duration of bowel training, while for girls resistance was significantly associated with short or moderate duration of bowel training and moderate pressure against masturbation.

(3) There were insignificant trends, for boys, for few realistic standards for obedience to be related to yielding to resistance, for high use of of praise as a psychological discipline technique and high severity of pressure against sex play to both be positively related to resistance.

(4) For girls, there were trends for resistance to be related to early weaning, withdrawal of love, high use of reasoning and early age at completion of bowel training.

(5) Control of aggression and nurturance were not related to resistance.

(6) There was a positive association between boy's admission of deviation (guilt) at 5-6 and their resistance at 11-12. For girls, frequent confession and strong evidence of conscience development at 5-6 were related to resistance at 11-12.

(7) Because Burton found resistance and guilt negatively related at age 4 and because this study found them positively related at ages 11-12, it appears that guilt does develop before resistance.

(8) Because girls showed more resistance than boys at ages 5-6, and because both sexes were equally resistant in this study, the authors conclude that high conscience develops faster in girls and they attribute this to changing identifications for boys (mother to father as role model and the congruence of socializing agent and adult role-models in the mother for girls.

HARRIS, D. B., CLARK, K. E., ROSE, A. M., & BALASEK, FRANCES, "The Measurement of Responsibility in Children," Child Development, 1954, 25, 21-28 and 29-33.

Purpose: In a pair of articles the authors set out to try to answer some general questions such as how and at what ages a sense of responsibility develops, and more specifically to test the widely held notion that the assignment of household chores to children helps them develop a sense of responsibility.

Procedure: Over 4,000 Minnesota children from rural areas and small towns as well as a large metropolitan center, were given a battery of paper and pencil tests and attitude scales including:

(1) a citizenship scale of 48 agree-disagree items tapping personal behavior as well as opinions of others through statements such as "I would sneak into a movie if I could do it without being caught," or "The person who doesn't vote is not a good citizen."

(2) a questionnaire dealing with his use of money, his work experience and his household duties.

Each child was also rated by his teacher on a check list designed to assess classroom responsibility through items such as "dawdles at his work", "sees jobs to be done and does them without waiting to be asked."

Findings: Interactions among age, sex and habitation (e.g. rural, town, and urban) groups were computed, with the following conclusions reached:

(1) There appears to be no highly organized trait of responsibility as such in childhood although it may develop by mid-adolescence.

(2) Girls are judged somewhat more responsible than boys by their teachers.

(3) Rural children were not judged more responsible than urban.

(4) "This study reveals little evidence for a marked development progress in the child's amount of responsibility."

Conclusions: The authors suggest that responsibility as we think of it may have meaning only in adult situations characterized by more real demands. They found

HARRIS, et al., "The Measurement of Responsibility in Children," (cont.)

no evidence that the performing of routine tasks such as washing dishes, caring for pets, and cleaning the house is associated with an attitude of responsibility.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "Immanent Justice Among West African Children," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 47, 241-248.

Purpose: To replicate the work of Piaget and Neugarten in a different culture. Piaget had postulated in The Moral Judgment of the Child that young children pass through a stage where their moral ideas are governed by an implicit notion of "immanent justice" (automatic punishments which emanate from things themselves). He found that the notion decreased with age among Swiss children but predicted such a decline would not occur among primitive peoples. Havighurst and Neugarten's study with Hopi Indians revealed an increase with age in the belief in immanent justice.

Procedure: Subjects were 120 school children from Accra, Ghana elementary schools, divided into 2 age groups, 6 - 12 and 12 - 18. They were told a version of the stolen orange story originated by Piaget and used by Neugarten in which a boy who steals an orange and gets away from the seller is cut by a cutlass later that afternoon. Answers as to why this happened were coded as 1) pure immanence, 2) act of God, 3) inconsistent, 4) magical causation, and 5) naturalistic.

Findings: A much greater percentage of the younger group than the older group explained the action in terms of pure immanence. However, "act of God" was

JAHODA, "Immanent Justice Among West African Children," (cont.)

more prevalent among older children than younger. Twenty percent of the older group and none of the younger attributed the action to naturalistic causes.

Jahoda feels, however, that there may be legitimate ground for including "acts of God" under the "immanent justice" category. If this is done the percentage of children using the category would be much larger and the decrease with age smaller. He concludes that no meaningful qualitative analysis can be made without further clarifying the concepts involved. Moreover he questions Piaget's assumption that at adolescence children in "primitive" cultures come under more moral constraint while those in "modern" cultures are under less constraint.

JOHNSON, R. C., "A Study of Children's Moral Judgments," Child Development, 1962, 33, 327-354.

Purpose: To test some of Piaget's ideas concerning developmental changes in moral judgment. More specifically, the study was designed to determine the consistency of responses to questions within and between various areas of moral judgment (immanent justice, moral realism, expiatory vs. restitutive punishment, efficacy of severe punishment, and communicable responsibility). The author hoped to investigate the relation of various antecedent conditions to children's moral judgments.

Procedure: A moral judgment test was given to 807 children in grades 5, 7, 9 and 11 in a midwestern city. Subsamples in grades 7, 9, and 11 were also given a test of abstractness-concreteness. Parents of subjects in the subsample were given an attitude test.

Findings: The reliability of the entire moral judgment scale and its subscales was not as high as that usually obtained in educational tests.

Responses within various areas of moral judgment were nearly always positively and significantly correlated.

Intercorrelations between areas of moral judgment showed that the areas of moral realism, retribution vs. restitution, and efficacy of severe punishment were not closely correlated with one another. Responses to questions about immanent justice were less closely related and responses to questions involving communicable responsibility were essentially unrelated to other response tendencies.

Abstractness and concreteness were only slightly related to moral judgment responses. Parent attitudes were significantly related, especially in the areas of immanent justice and communicable responsibility. IQ and, to a lesser

JOHNSON, "A Study of Children's Moral Judgments," (cont.)

extent, parental occupations were positively and significantly correlated with mature moral judgment in all areas. Parental constraint seemed closely related to responses made in the areas of immanent justice and communicable responsibility.

MACCOBY, ELEANOR E., "The Taking of Adult Roles in Middle Childhood," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 493-503.

Purpose: The author wanted to investigate the conditions under which covert practice of adult roles would be greatest. It was hypothesized that children do covertly practice adult roles for three motives: the desire to reproduce in fantasy events that had been reinforcing or associated with reinforcement (rewarding behavior of parents toward child); because the child cannot attain goals without the intervention of parents (with high control), the child will rehearse parental behavior; and the child will obtain vicarious satisfaction by pretending to be a person who is enjoying rewards denied to the child. Adult role playing becomes overt either when the child himself becomes a parent or when an age-mate provides the stimulus during an interaction by acting out some aspect of a reciprocal child role. Only one aspect of the adult role was investigated - rule of enforcement. The hypotheses were:

(1) When a child sees an age-mate violate a rule, he will be more likely to enforce that rule if his parents were strict rule enforcers (as measured by restrictiveness and punitiveness).

(2) The match between the rule enforcing behavior of parent and child will be closest in those families where parents were highly nurturant.

Procedure: Five hundred and twenty-five sixth grade children in the Boston area were used. Items describing an interaction with an age-mate were administered, and S had to choose one of the role-taking answers. An adult-child

MACCOBY, "The Taking of Adult Roles in Middle Childhood," (cont.)

role choice scale was devised, where S chose either an adult-like or child-like function. Questions depicting deviation of a child who was caught by an adult demanded that S either side with the child or adult. Teacher interview reports on each S's relationships to classmates and teacher were also obtained. Mother interviews provided information on child rearing practices.

Findings:

(1) Rule-enforcing children were well socialized in other respects, and for both sexes rule-enforcement was related to aggression anxiety.

(2) Rule-enforcing boys accepted rule enforcement upon themselves by other peers more than rule-enforcing girls.

(3) Rule-enforcing boys showed less anti-social agressions and more pro-social aggression (non-significant trend in this direction for girls).

(4) Rule-enforcing boys were reported by the teacher to be good in class (well-behaved, less aggressive toward peers, etc.); an appropriate relation for girls was found in some cases, and no relation in others.

(5) Rule-enforcing boys had more restrictive mothers while rule-enforcing girls had more punitive mothers (but not more restrictive).

(6) For boys, restrictiveness and rule-enforcement were more closely associated with warm mothers than with cold mothers, with high early dependency than with low (but warmth and dependency not related), and with low dependency on peers than with high.

(7) For girls, punitiveness and rule-enforcement were more closely associated with high early dependency than with low and with low dependency on peers than with high, but the association was no stronger with warm mothers than with cold.

(8) For boys and girls, whether or not the parent who is most restrictive (or punitive) is of the same sex has no effect on the match between rule-enforcing behavior or parent and child.

MAC ROE, DUNCAN, "A Test of Piaget's Theories of Moral Development," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology," 1954, 49, 14-18.

Purpose: To test two assumptions of Piaget and Lerner:

MAC ROE, "A Test of Piaget's Theories of Moral Development," (cont.)

(1) the questions used to test the development of moral judgment involve a single underlying dimension other than the child's age.

(2) this dimension of moral judgment is associated with the type of authority relations to which the child is subjected.

Procedure: Two hundred and forty-four boys aged 5 to 14 were used. Moral judgment questions similar to Piaget's were administered as well as questions tapping at authority relations with parents and relationships with peers.

Findings:

(1) For each question, age trends in the direction predicted by Piaget were found.

(2) Within age groups, questions did not correlate forming one dimension, but rather four clusters were found, each of which represents a separate aspect of moral development. These sub-clusters were concerned with intentions vs. consequences, punishments, perspectives, and violations of norms.

(3) The extent of parental discipline and control and the internalization of parental requirements did not show a steady decrease in age as predicted by Piaget.

(4) The violation of norms index correlated negatively with the extent of discipline index and the internalization index as predicted by Piaget, but other Piaget indices did not show the correlations.

(5) The author suggests the postulation of two distinct processes of moral development, which may show different relationships to IQ and social class:
    (a) cognitive - learning what behavior patterns are approved and disapproved (as measured by the intention vs. consequences and punishment indices).
    (b) emotional - the association of anxiety with one's own deviance and moral indignation with the deviance of others (as measured by the violation of norms index).

MORRIS, J. F., "Symposium: The Development of Moral Values in Children, II The Development of Adolescent Value Judgments," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1958, 28, Pt. I, 1-14.

Purpose: To investigate the main changes in value judgments in late childhood and adolescence, and to determine the conditions under which changes take place. A distinction was made between cognitive and emotional moral development as suggested by MacRoe (1954).

Procedure: Children from the 1st through 5th classes in a British middle grammar school were used. They were presented with problem situations and asked what would and should be done and why. The following classification of responses was made:

(1) normative principle of assumed general validity,

(2) use of an authoritative edict to justify a course of action,

(3) reciprocity (emphasis on *quid pro quo*),

(4) self-interest - desire for self-gratification and/or avoidance of punishment,

(5) independence - emphasis upon making up one's own mind,

(6) conformity - emphasis upon doing what others in one's age group want.

Findings:

(1) There was a discrepancy between "should" and "would" answers, which increased with age.

(2) With increasing age there was a faster growth of normative judgments on the should level than on the would level.

(3) There was a decline in self-interest with age, especially on the would level.

(4) There was a decline in age in moral dependency on authority and on increase in independence, both subject to marked fluctuations at puberty.

MORRIS, Symposium: The Development of Moral Values in Children," (cont.)

(5) The complexity of value judgments increased with age.

(6) There were marked situational differences in value judgments (not necessarily implying subjective inconsistency).

(7) There were no sex differences in responses to situations, although the should-would discrepancy was slightly greater for girls and value changes were slightly faster for girls.

DURKIN, D., "Children's Concepts of Justice: A Comparison with Piaget's Data," Child Development, 1959, 30, 59-67.

Purpose: To investigate Piaget's theory of development of moral judgment from submission to adult authority to mutual respect, from the point of view of cross-cultural differences and differences in intelligence.

Procedure: The sample consisted of 101 boys and girls in grades 2, 5, and 8 in a small midwestern community. Most were middle-class white Protestants. Children were presented with a story in which one boy hit another during school recess and asked what the boy who was hit should do? They were also asked how they would feel if the second boy not only hit the first boy back but also gave him a push. Answers were coded as 1) tell authority person, 2) return identical aggression, or 3) other.

Findings: Different kinds of justice concepts were found at various age levels. Grades 2 and 8 were most likely to turn to authority figures. Acceptance of reciprocity does not increase with age. Older children tend to show concern for possible mitigating factors in the situation, in some sense an emergence of equity with age. No apparent relationship was found between intelligence and a "feeling of equity". Piaget's findings that those approving of reciprocity do not accept an arbitrary punishment bearing no relation to the punishable act were substantiated.

DANZINGER, K., "Children's Earliest Conceptions of Economic Relationships," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 47, 231-240.

Purpose: The introduction decries the fact that "psychological investigations specifically concerned with concept formation in children have shown a marked preference for the study of concepts about the physical world rather than the social world." This study was undertaken to obtain data on the growth of social concepts (specifically economic ones) to see if there is a process of development that is peculiar to them.

Procedures: Subjects were 41 Australian children (20 boys and 21 girls) of varied socio-economic levels, divided into two age groups, one of 8-year-olds, one of children 5-7, from a single school in Melbourne, Australia. This age break was selected because of Piaget's findings that a fundamental change occurs in children's thinking at this point.

In an interview children were asked a series of 10 standard questions (supplemented by probes if needed) dealing with three major topics:

(1) Rich and poor - What is rich (poor)? How do people get rich? Why are some people rich and some poor?

(2) Money - Why do we have to give money when we buy things in a shop? What does the man in the shop do with the money he gets? Where does money come from?

(3) "Boss" - What is a boss? Where does the boss get his money? How does a person become a boss?

Findings: Children were at a higher stage in understanding of exchange than of production which is understandable since they have first hand experience with purchasing but not with producing. Four stages in the development of economic concepts were found:

(1) An initial pre-categorical stage in which a child has no economic categories of thought.

DANZINGER, "Children's Earliest Conceptions of Economic Relationships," (cont.)

(2) A categorical stage in which the child's concepts appear to represent a reality in terms of isolated acts which are explained by a moral or voluntaristic imperative.

(3) At this stage reciprocity is established between previously isolated acts. This child is able to conceptualize certain relationships but they are not explained in terms of other relationships.

(4) In the final stage isolated relationships become linked to each other so as to form a system of relations. Each part derives its significance from its position in the whole.

Conclusions: The stages in development of economic concepts seem to be analogous to those found in the development of kinship concepts. (See Danzinger, K., "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms: A Study in the Development of Relational Concepts," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1957, 91, 213-233.) "The possibility arises that these stages may be characteristic of the development of notions about social relationships in general."

SCHUESSLER, KARL, & STRAUSS, ANSELM, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," American Sociological Review, 1950, 15, 752-762.

Purpose: This paper is concerned with the development of concepts in children not because of an interest in child development as such, but because the authors contend that the process of becoming socialized is basically one of learning concepts. The concept "money" was selected as being central to Western thought and life. The three basic questions asked were:

(1) Whether children develop in a fairly consistent way with respect to the concept,

(2) Whether fairly definite stages in concept development can be established, and

(3) What conditions or types of learning are prerequisite to any given stage of development.

SCHUESSLER & STRAUSS, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were 68 children (approximately 5 boys and 5 girls at each age level, 4 - 10) from a middle-class school in Bloomington, Indiana. The interview which took 35 - 45 minutes included questions about recognition, comparative value, and equivalence. Within each section tasks of varying levels of difficulty were included, e.g. recognition - child asked to identify various U.S. coins, explain how they knew what a coin was, whether another country can have money not in dollars and cents. Comparative value - child asked which of paired coins will buy more, why a dime is worth more than a nickle even though it is smaller. Equivalence - child asked to give examiner back just what examiner gave him, to tell how much change he would get from a dime if he bought six cents worth of candy.

Findings: The hypothesis that concept development among children is uniform and consistent is strongly supported by the finding that the items scale. The organization of the child's responses develops from very simple modes to highly complex ones. Related progressions from concrete to abstract, and from discrete to systematic thinking were also found. Similarly behavior progresses from relatively "rigid" to relatively "flexible." For example, younger children claimed that they could not match the investigator's dime if they did not have one, while more advanced children could match a dime with 10 pennies, and once they developed the notion of making change in the abstract, could match 6 pennies without having any pennies. Using Piagetian terms, they also report a progression from absolute or egocentric behavior to relative or non-egocentric behavior.

No sex differences were found. Although children often reached a given level at different ages, chronological age was related to the amount of monetary information held and accounted for more of the variation in test scores than did mental age. Preliminary examination of class differences suggested that social class may affect the age at which the learning takes place, but that the conceptual progression is the same.

STRAUSS, ANSELM, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," American Sociological Review, 1952, 17, 275-286.

Purpose: This article discusses the value of scale analysis as a method for studying concept development in the child, traces the cumulative development of a number of interrelated monetary meanings or concepts, and makes some general observations about the process of concept development.

Procedures: Subjects were 66 children, ages 4½ to 11½ (approximately 5 boys and 5 girls at each age level) from a middle-class school in Bloomington, Indiana. Each child was asked 71 questions in four sessions, each one lasting between 15 and 30 minutes. In addition, about 10 children (3 to 4½-year-olds) not part of the regular sample were studied.

Findings: Children in the youngest group, considered a sub-stage, were able to distinguish money from other objects such as buttons, but the maximum distinction they could make between coins was between penny and not a penny. Scale 1 children (median age 5.4 years) could distinguish nickles from other silver, but could not name all remaining coins correctly, realized that money had to do with buying, but seemed to feel that any coin buys anything and could not envision any function of monetary activity other than buying and selling which were only partially understood. At the other extreme, Stage 9

STRAUSS, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," (cont.)

children (median age 11.2) understood the storekeeper's function as a middleman and the justification for his profits, and also realized that storekeepers might cheat to make more money. Potentialities of money for evil as well as good were thus recognized. At no stage were the children able to understand the function of any middleman other than the storekeeper.

Conclusions: "Stage" taken to indicate level of response organization is a useful conception. As the child moves from level to level, his behavior undergoes transformation--that is, it changes, as well as become more complex. As comprehension increases, many earlier notions seem to be lost; but they are actually losses only in the sense that the child no longer believes a particular notion. At each stage, children commit characteristic errors which are related in determinable ways to characteristic concepts held at each level. Finally, Strauss concludes that learning of concepts is not merely an intellectual matter. Shifts of conceptualization are shifts in emoting, perceiving, willing and valuing.

SUTTON, RACHEL S., "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts," Journal of Psychology, 1962, 53, 37-46.

Purpose: This study set out to obtain information of the growth and development of economic concepts and the process by which they are attained.

Procedure: Eighty-five children from grades 1 to 6 from six public schools in northeastern Georgia were asked a series of questions about money and the accumulation of capital (e.g. How do people get money? What is a bank? What can be used in place of money? What happens to money in a bank?). Replies

SUTTON, "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts," (cont.)

to each question were analyzed by grades and coded in one of six categories of economic thought reflecting various levels of complexity.

Findings: A substantial majority of all responses (63%) were on a pre-categorical level where a thing would be named with no apparent understanding of its economic meaning, e.g. "a bank is a place to keep money". Age, intelligence and socio-economic background had little effect on the understanding of the production credit of money. Older, more intelligent children tended to moralize and explain in terms of rightness and wrongness. This "morality" category of goodness or badness without regard to economic function (e.g. "Money will buy everything but happiness") was second most widely used with 18% of all replies. Five percent of all replies referred to two acts involving a reciprocity which cannot be explained in terms of other economic relationships while only 1% of the replies located a single act in terms of its position in a system of relationships.

Conclusions: To the author, these findings argued cogently for more external stimuli in the development of economic concepts.

SUTTON, RACHEL S., "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts: II," Journal of Psychology, 1964, 58, 407-412.

Purpose: This study was designed to assess the ages at which children use different levels of meaning for selected words having economic content, and further to find out if instruction in economics effects the levels of meaning upon which children of a given age can operate.

Procedure: The subjects were 1st, 3rd, and 5th grade children in an elemen-

SUTTON, "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts: II," (cont.)

tary school in Georgia. Their level of thinking was assessed by a specially constructed test listing selected words and four alternative meanings from which they were to select the "best meaning". The alternatives had been selected to represent four levels of meaning--incorrect, concrete, functional and abstract.

Findings: Analysis of variance revealed that incorrect and concrete responses decreased with age and abstract responses increased. Within each grade there was a significant decrease in the use of incorrect and concrete responses and a significant increase in the use of functional and abstract responses after the students had received instruction in economics over a 6-month period.

DENNIS, JACK, "Some Major Perspectives for Empirical Research on Political Socialization," unpublished paper, April 29, 1965.

Dennis's article attempts to separate the various problem areas in the study of political socialization, and to review briefly some of the research that has been done in these areas. He suggests nine major problem areas, with important questions to ask in each area, three of which he suggests are on the dependent variable side and six of which are on the independent variable side. The three major problem areas on the dependent variable side are:

(1) What is the impact of political socialization on political life or the political system?

(2) What is the content of political socialization that is transmitted that thus consequences for the life or stability of political systems? Within this problem area not only does the question of content arise, but also the question of what orientations are transmitted.

(3) What is the extent of political socialization for any given member of the political system? Aspects of the extent of political socialization which have research importance, are the length of political socialization (in terms of the life cycle), the quantity or area of content it covers, the intensity or depth of commitment engendered, and the spread or proportion of members included.

On the independent variable side, the problem areas are:

(4) How is the process of political socialization associated with the life cycle of individual members? Is political socialization developmental, and if so what is the shape of the developmental curve? What factors affect development? How fixed are political values, knowledge,

DENNIS, "Some Major Perspectives for Empirical Research on Political Socialization." (cont.)

and affect given a certain form of developmental curve?

(5) What are the generational variations in political socialization?

(6) What are the inter-system variations?

(7) What are the intra-system variations?

(8) What is the learning process like in political socialization?

(9) What are the agencies of political socialization, and what inter- and intra-agency variability is there?

EASTON, DAVID, & HESS, ROBERT, "Youth and the Political System," in Lipset, S. M., and Lowenthal, L., Culture and Social Character. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Easton and Hess concern themselves with the content of political socialization and attempt to dimensionalize this content in such a way that the implications of the content socialized upon the stability of the political system can be assessed. They suggest that political socialization can be viewed as the means by which members of a political system acquire three kinds of political orientations: knowledge, attitudes, and values or standards of evaluation. For analytical purposes they also divide the political system into three levels--1) government (all roles through which day to day formulation and administration of societal binding decisions are undertaken), 2) regime (consistency of orientations relating to a given form of government for which a constitution spells our formal prescriptions as to structure and allocation of rights and privileges, and consisting of customary rules), and 3) community (which is the agreement of a people to solve problems in common through a shared political structure).

EASTON & HESS, "Youth and the Political System," (cont.)

The authors suggest that consensus at the community level is necessary if a political system is to remain stable. Cleavages of values and attitudes are often common on the governmental level, however. Even on this level, though, Easton and Hess suggest that some consensus is necessary.

The authors also discuss some of the implications of David Riesman's work for studies of political socialization--particularly in the area of orientations toward the regime.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, (to appear in forthcoming edition).

The author gives a brief overview of the research on political socialization. A definition of political socialization is offered (the inculcation of political information, values and practices, both formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of life cycle), a brief history of research in the area is given, and some important areas of research and researchable hypotheses are suggested.

HYMAN, HERBERT, Political Socialization, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

A good survey of the literature on political socialization up until about 1957. Most of the problems dealt with are limited to political participation and attitudes, on what Hess and Easton have called the governmental level. The regime and community attitude levels are not dealt with.

EASTON, DAVID, & DENNIS, JACK, "The Child's Image of Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 361 (September, 1965, 40-57.

Purpose: The authors were interested in examining the meaning of government to children and exploring cognitive and effective components of such a concept as well as developmental changes in the concept.

Procedure: A sample of approximately 12,000 middle- and working-class white children in grades 2 through 8, from large metropolitan areas across the United States were given a structured questionnaire. A smaller number were individually interviewed.

Findings: When children were asked to choose two of ten symbols that best described government it was found that four symbols predominated: President, Congress, voting, and Washington. President and Washington decreased with age, Congress and voting increased. From this it was concluded that the concept of governmental authority moves from one that is highly personalized to one that is "legal-natural", institutionalized and impersonal. Also, the increase with age in the response "voting" indicates, for the authors, as increasing awareness of regime rules. The directions of concept change found in children is moving toward the position of their teachers, which the authors suggest indicates that society is successfully inculcating a concept of government appropriate in the political system.

With increasing age, children tend to view Congress as the center of government, the most important law-making institution, and laws as most important products of our system. Government, and Congress in particular, is increasingly seen as benign and helpful, not restraining.

EASTON & DENNIS, "The Child's Image of Government," (cont.)

A structured question showed that children can differentiate between the public and private sectors, and that this differentiation increases with age.

The authors also maintain, on the basis of evidence collected, that affective regard of a positive nature toward the government remains high even though cognitive changes in the concept of government are evident with age. The following evidence was found:

(1) Most children approve of the government's collectivist orientation, but do not want to see the government more powerful.

(2) A high positive image of government is maintained but in some instances is qualified with age, such as older children saying the government would usually or almost always, but not always, want to help them. Positive images of role competence increase with age.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, 1960, 54, 934-43.

Purpose: To investigate the genesis of attitudes toward political leaders and possible ways this may affect adult responses to formal wielders of power.

Procedures: Approximately 650 New Haven public and private school children of widely varying socio-economic status in grades 4 through 8 were given paper and pencil questionnaires early in 1958. Individual interviews were conducted with a smaller number of children and their teachers.

Findings: Children are like adults in ranking certain political roles very high, but unlike adults (who often hold disdain for particular political

GREENSTEIN, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," (cont.)

officials) in that they tend to evaluate political officials very positively. Evaluations and effective knowledge about political leaders seem to precede the factual information on which they might be "based". The children assigned themselves a political party affiliation long before they could make any meaningful statements about the parties or identify their national leaders. Amount of political information increased considerably through the various grade levels studied, but the use of glowing political imagery seemed to decline. When asked to describe the duties of local, state and federal executive and legislative bodies, most children made straightforward statements, e.g. the mayor runs the city, Congress makes laws, but a conspicuous majority volunteered affective responses describing special services performed for children, or, more generally, the "helping" role of leaders.

Discussion: Possible explanations for the favorable view of political leaders are the casual nature of early learning (through patriotic observances rather than planned instruction) and the painfully benevolent portrayal of officials in children's literature.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

Purpose: This is a study of political socialization based on questionnaires and interviews given to a sample of New Haven children. The author attempts to answer such questions as: Where do children's political ideas come from? and How do these ideas vary with sex and socio-economic status? He also speculates on the relationship between the political ideas held by the children

GREENSTEIN, Children and Politics, (cont.)

and their future political behavior.

Procedure: Questionnaires were administered to a sample of 659 New Haven, Connecticut school children between the ages of 9 and 13 in 1958. A sub sample of these children were interviewed. An additional smaller project reports reactions to President Kennedy's assassination in 1963.

Findings: (1) Evaluation and affective knowledge of political authority seem to precede the factual information about it. When compared with adults children have highly idealized views of the President and political authority in general. This idealization consists of a more favorable view of political authority than the views of most adults, a higher feeling of political efficiency, a feeling of the general benevolence and goodness of political roles rather than the service functions of these roles, and less of a willingness to criticize political authority than adults. This idealization decreases with age.

(2) Children's views may come from incidental family instruction, inadvertant political learning in the schools, and the mass media. The highly idealized nature of children's political attitudes may come from the parents' unwillingness to pass on negative political attitudes to the child, a blocking out of negative attitudes toward adult and political authority (because of psychological need) and the channeling of private orientation to authority to public orientation. The decrease of idealization with age may be due to an increased realistic political understanding and a need to assume adult mannerisms.

(3) Developmental patterns exist with regard to the following:

(a) awareness of certain functions of political roles and of the public nature of certain roles. First there is an awareness of the federal and local governments, and there is an awareness of the executive before the legislative at each level (with the legislature first seen as subordinate to the executive.

(b) Candidate orientation, issue orientation and part identification are developmental, but party identification develops very rapidly.

(4) The explanations of the developmental patterns found are probably the following:

GREENSTEIN, Children and Politics, (cont.)

(a) learning about an individual is easier than learning about a complex institution, so awareness of the executive precedes awareness of the legislative. Also, the executive is more important to adults than the legislative and they are more concerned with the federal government. Consequently, adults, as well as the mass media, discuss these aspects of the political environment more, so children are aware of them sooner.

(b) The child probably develops party identification more rapidly than issue orientation (or ideology) because it is cognitively simpler to deal with and he has more exposure to it.

(5) Social class differences in political socialization exist with regard to the following:

(a) Higher socio-economic status means greater participation, probably because of more leisure and financial resources, greater ability to link politics to one's personal life, the possession of verbal skills, and child-rearing practices which lead to greater participation (such as the respect given to children's opinions).

(b) With increasing socio-economic status come an increase in civil liberty liberalism, foreign policy liberalism, and moral liberalism and a decrease in economic liberalism.

(c) With increasing socio-economic status comes an increase in political information (of an informal kind), issue orientation and a decrease in idealization of political authority.

(6) Political sex differences in adults also exist in children. These differences exist in the degree of interest and involvement in politics (men and boys being more interested in and having more information about politics than women and girls), and the direction of involvement (women being more candidate oriented, more moralistically oriented, and less supportive of war-like or aggressive policies).

(7) The political sex differences in adults as reflected in children is probably due to sex role conceptions, situational factors (such as caring for the children) and child-adult relationships, peer relationships, and everyday obligations and amusements (boys more aggressive and willing to express hostility, engage in play activities and read things that are more politically related, and girls are more interested in persons and personal relations).

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1961, 25, 648-654.

Purpose: The author set out to compare results of his New Haven, Connecticut study with those obtained by Hess and Easton in Chicago.

Procedure: Data were obtained from a questionnaire given to 659 children in grades 4 through 8. The results reported here came from an open ended question asking children to describe the President's duties and from structured questions asking for evaluations of the President.

Findings: He found that the child's first apparent contact with politics is the figure of the President. The President serves as a defense symbol of government, through which other roles and institutions are slowly perceived (at the first being subordinate to the President, then becoming differentiated). Very positive evaluations are also evident, which decreases with age. The young child has an idealized view of the President. Possible explanations of such developmental trends are offered. It is suggested that seeing government as a hierarchical ladder, with the President at the top, may be a transfer of the family power structure, or a confusion of role functions of the various governmental positions; or so may be the case that perceiving the President first, and then institutions like the legislature second, one is led to assume that the second is subordinate to the first.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, 1961, 23, 353-371.

Purpose: Proceeding on the evidence which shows sex-related political differences in adults, the author attempts to show that such differences exist in childhood.

GREENSTEIN, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," (cont.)

Procedure: Information was obtained from the above mentioned sample of 659 New Haven, Connecticut children aged 9 - 14 who filled out paper and pencil questionnaires.

Findings: Girls indicate less information of a political nature than boys and political news in the media is of more interest to boys (they become more emotionally involved). These differences remained when social class was controlled for. The author offers two explanations. Firstly, there are differences in sex-role conceptions with regard to politics (as measured by the fact that both sexes indicated they would go to their father more than their mother for political advice). Politics is a man's business. Secondly, there are different child behaviors for the sexes in politically analogous areas. For instance, boys are more aggressive or willing to express hostility than girls (which may explain why men participate more and are less pacifist in issue orientation than women); girls are more interested in personal relations (which may be why women are more candidate oriented); and game differences show boys are more interested in things outside the home—in the outside environment. Even reading interests and interests in school classes (boys preferring social studies and science; girls English and foreign language) show boys are more interested in the wider environment.

HESS, ROBERT D., "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority Some Cross-National Comparisons," prepared for the S.S.R.C. Inter-American meeting of Sociologists, Princeton, September 10-12, 1962.

Purpose: This study attempted cross-national comparisons of children's images of their national leaders.

HESS, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority," (cont.)

Procedure: Questionnaires were administered to a sample of children aged 7-13 in Australia, Chile, Japan, Puerto Rica and the United States.

Findings: The authors found cross-national positive images of authority, but these images were more positive in the U.S.; status differences in image depending upon the country; and differential cross-national influence of home and school upon images of authority. There was not necessarily a congruence of father and Presidential images, leading the authors to hypothesize that the positive image of authority was a transfer of an ideal authority image because of a psychological need to overcome feelings of powerlessness, which lead to a prediction of cross-national differences as ideal authority images varied. Such differences were found. All countries generally showed age trends in the image of authority, also with competence generally increasing with age, and a positive image of honesty decreasing with age only in the U.S. (remaining about the same for other countries).

HESS, ROBERT, & EASTON, DAVID, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1960, 24, 632-644.

Purpose: To obtain information on the image of the President held by children of elementary school age.

Procedure: Approximately 350 children in grades 2 through 8 were given a multiple-choice questionnaire designed to elicit opinions about the personal and moral qualities of the President and his role competence.

Findings: With increase in age children perceived the President's personal qualities as less positive and his role competence as more positive. The

HESS & EASTON, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," (cont.)

image of the President was compared with children's images of their father and their images of a fictitious "President of China". The images of father and President were congruent, but these congruencies decreased with age. It was suggested that the image of the President may be a transfer of the father image. Because of the child's situation, however, it was hypothesized that the two images were congruent because of a need to see authority figures as benevolent due to a position of powerlessness and dependency. The image of the President and the "President of China" were fairly congruent, showing the President's image was not totally a result of partisan identification.

HESS, ROBERT, & EASTON, DAVID, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," School Review, 1962, 70, 257-65.

Purpose: Having found a substantial amount of political awareness and opinion among high school students and relatively little change in attitude between freshman and senior levels, the authors directed their attention to the study of political socialization in earlier years. They hoped "to explore the range and the nature of political figures on the child's cognitive field."

Procedure: Children in grades 2 through 8 were asked questions about the President of the United States, to write an essay describing the cartoon figure Uncle Sam, and to answer the question how can I help make our government better?

Findings: Children's images of the President and Uncle Sam are very positive, with very few expressions of hostility or even ambivalence. Increased emphasis

HESS & EASTON, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," (cont.)

on active participation by citizens is found with increases in children's ages.

With increasing age children begin to see the difference between the office of the presidency and the characteristics of the incumbunt. This differentiation makes criticism of an individual compatible with a basic allegiance to government.

The developmental process described seemed to result from personal rather than formal learning.

Conclusions: The authors tentatively suggest that because of the high expressed interest and positive affect with regard to government among elementary school children that this might be the crucial time for a citizenship training course to be started.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," Part I, British Journal of Educational Psychelogy, 1963, 23, 47-60.

Purpose: Using Piaget's attempt to establish developmental concepts of country and nationality as a point of departure, Jahoda set out to analyze the gradual emergence of these concepts and to offer tentative developmental norms for children of contrasting socio-economic background.

Procedure: Subjects were 144 children from 4 schools (two middle-class and two working class) in Glasgow, Scotland, At each school, three boys and three girls from each of the 6 age levels (6 to 11) were individually interviewed in sessions averaging about 45 minutes. Children were asked direct questions about the relationships between Glasgow, Scotland, England and Britain, and

JAHODA, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," (cont.)

also given an opportunity to work with plastic peices of varying sizes designed to represent these four geographical entities. Additional questions dealt with the child's self identification, national identification, and notion of large cities.

Findings: Four geographic stages were delineated. Stage I children have no conception of Glasgow as an unitary whole; Stage II children understand that Glasgow is an entity in which they live, but do not think of it as part of Scotland or have accurate knowledge of Scotland and Britain; Stage III children conceive of Glasgow as part of Scotland, but not of Scotland as part of Britain; and by Stage IV the Glasgow,Scotland-Britain relationship is correctly expressed. Performance on the verbal and spatial tasks was positively related. Analysis of stages reached by type of school and age revealed that at all age ranges a higher proportion of children from middle-class schools hold more advanced concepts than those from working-class schools.

Conclusions: Jahoda's findings support the widely held concentric circles notion that a child's intellectual grasp of his environment begins in his immediate vicinity and gradually extends outwards.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," Part II, British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1963, 23, 143-153.

Purpose: To trade developmental stages in the acquisition of a number of symbolic concepts associated with nationality and patriotism.

JAHODA, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," (cont.)

Procedures: The sample of 144 children described above was also used for this study. Children were asked to identify the national anthem from among six tunes played on a tape recorder and to answer questions about it and song preferences of Scotsmen. Similarly, the Union Jack was shown as one of nine pictured flags and questions were asked about it and the other flags. Finally, the children were asked to identify a number of emblems, and pictures, some typically Scottish, some not.

Findings: Children were able to list occasions ro places, e.g. school ceremonies, church and Sunday school, when the TV goes off the air, when they heard the national anthem before they could give it's name or identify it as the national anthem. By the age of 8 or 9, most children knew the name of the anthem and associated it with the Queen. And for middle-class children, the song had generally become a national symbol by the time they reached 10 or 11.

Children were generally able to name the Union Jack correctly before they knew to attribute it to Britain as a whole rather than claiming it for Glasgow or Scotland. The youngest children focused on specific uses of the flag, e.g. you put it up when the Queen comes or buy it at the circus. Among the Scottish symbols shown, Robert Burns was probably the best recognized, regardless of social class of the children.

Conclusions: Jahoda ended his article with a plea to educators to take cognizance of such findings in their curricular planning and to question their assumptions about children's understanding of geographical terms.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "Developmental of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries," Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 58, 91-108.

Purpose: This study attempts "to trace the gradual widening of children's social and geographical horizons, the manner in which their perceptions of other countries become organized, and the emergence of favorable or hostile attitudes at various stages."

Procedure: The same sample of 144 children was used. Children were asked if they had heard of foreign countries and, if so, to name them, and later to express certain preferences. Children who failed to name other countries were given a chance to show if they had at least learned to associate certain classes of words.

Findings: The expressions "foreign countries" or "countries outside Britain" were mostly understood in a more or less conventional way by middle-class children. For working-class children, they appear to have connotations emphasizing the strange, picturesque or exotic. Additional questions about countries liked or disliked revealed that preferences of the youngest children appear to be basic primarily on the appeal of the unusual or picturesque, especially of distant places. Among 8-9 year-olds, many of the preferences are justified in terms of stereotype images of the countries, e.g. skyscrapers, snow. By 10 or 11 children put more emphasis on people and their characteristics and less on scenery. He noted a definite shift with younger children attracted by exotic features of a country and older ones repelled by the strangeness of its people. The older children also reflected growing awareness of the cold war, particularly in their selection of countries disliked.

JAHODA, "Development of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries," (cont.)

Conclusions: Jahoda sees a space-time orientation developing concurrently with the acquisition and refinement of the concept of own and foreign countries.

LAMBERT, W. E., & KLINEBERG, O., "A Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes," UNESCO International Social Science Journal, 1959, 11, 221-238.

Purpose: The main purpose of this study was the development of adequate methodology for the study of the manner in which national stereotypes develop in children of different ages.

Procedure: Subjects were 6, 10, and 14 year-olds from English Canada, French Canada, England, Belgium and Holland. Each age group was made up of 40 to 50 children of middle socio-economic levels about equally divided between the sexes. In an interview, children were asked about their own identity (What are you?), whether they view other peoples as like or different from themselves, the types of descriptions which they associate with certain other peoples, their affective evaluation of them, and the sources of information about other people.

Findings: For all nationality groups, sex and child self-references decrease with age. Belgian and Dutch 6 year-old samples make considerable use of the child category. Religious self-identity is given more frequently by French and English Canadian groups than by the others. Reference to nationality as a self-reference increased with age. The Belgian sample shows a strong tendency to use the category even at the 10-year level, while few English children use a national reference before the 14-year level. At all ages, people (parents, LAMBERT & KLINEBERG, "A Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes," (cont.)

relatives, friends, and acquaintances) are important sources of information. Relatively speaking, however, people decrease in importance with age, while school and media increase. In describing other people, descriptions of personality tend to increase with age as do references to political and religious behavior and references to material possessions while descriptions of a physical-racial nature and those referring to clothing and customs decrease.

Numerous tables and a description of a structural technique for assessing stereotypes are presented.

LAWSON, EDWIN, "Development of Patriotism in Children -- A Second Look," The Journal of Psychology, 1963, 55, 279-286.

Purpose: An attempt, in part, to replicate an earlier study by Horowitz of the development of patriotic attitudes in children as assessed by preferences for flags of various nations.

Procedure: Subjects were 1040 school students, 20 boys and 20 girls from each grade (K through 12) of two school systems in upstate New York (one urban, one suburban). Each child was individually interviewed and asked to pick from an array of 20 pictured flags the one he liked best, second best, etc. Ranks chosen for each flag were recorded by grade level and sex in each school system, however, no differences between the sexes or the school systems appeared.

Findings: The U.S. flag is rated highest by the 1961 school children at all levels except Grade 10 and 11, but the pattern is quite different from that of the Horowitz study. In this study, appreciation is fairly constant from kindergarten on with an average percentage of about 70 (indicating that 70%

LAWSON, "Development of Patriotism in Children," (cont.)

of the children ranked the U.S. flag in the top five). In contrast, Horowitz showed a positive acceleration from 27% in Grade 1 to 100% in Grade 7. The Soviet flag is rejected immediately and has the lowest scores in the study. It is chosen by 10% of the children in kindergarten, but declines to 1.25% in Grade 12. Appreciation of the UN flag is initially at chance level (25%) but thereafter increases steadily. At Grades 10 and 11 the UN flag is actually higher than the U.S. flag. Thus there is a steady growth in appreciation of the UN flag to the point where it is about the same as that of the U.S. There were two flags with animals -- Siam, showing elephants, and Iran, showing a lion. Whereas Horowitz reported the Siamese flag highly chosen in Grade 1, there was no evidence in this investigation that perception of the animals led to a choice of these two flags.

Conclusions: The children in the 1961 sample apparently develop their attitudes at a substantially earlier age and show more sophistication than those in the 1936 study. Television is suggested as an important influence in this earlier attitude development.

LITT, EDGAR, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 69-75.

Purpose: The basic question asked by this study was whether differing political attitudes and norms of different socio-economic status groups affect the process of school indoctrination.

Procedure: The author chose three communities in the Boston metropolitan area, one of which was upper-middle class and politically active, one lower-middle-class and moderately politically active, and one working class with little political activity. In each community he administered a questionnaire to high school students, interviewed civic leaders, and did a content analysis of civic education textbooks.

Findings: It was found that textbook emphasis upon politics as a process involving power and influence and resolution of group conflict was greater in the upper-middle class than the lower-middle or working-class communities. Emphasis upon political activity was greater for the upper- and lower-middle class communities, while emphasis on American political institutions was about equal for all three communities.

Community leaders in the different communities agreed on the importance of teaching about the democratic creed and the need for political participation but disagreed about presenting politics as a process involving power and influence and resolution of group conflicts. Only middle-class leaders felt the latter should be taught.

Conclusions: The authors conclude that students in the three different communities are being trained to play different political roles. Upper-middle-class students are being oriented toward a "realistic" and active view of the political process, working-class students toward a more "idealistic" or passive view.

PIAGET, J., & WEIL, ANNE-MARIE, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin, 1951, III, 561-578.

Purpose: Using a Piagetian theoretical orientation, the authors tried to discover stages in the development of the concept of nationality.

PIAGET & WEIL, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were an unknown number of preschool and elementary school age children from Geneva, Switzerland, queried about where they live and asked to make value judgments about their country and others. The particular interview method used is not made clear.

Findings: The authors delineate three stages of geographic understanding which are paralleled by three stages of affective evaluation. Stage 1 children have only a simple notion of the territory in which they live, based on more or less direct knowledge of such characteristics as approximate size and main language spoken. They express no preference for Switzerland over other countries as "they lack the affective decentration needed to grasp collective realities outside of their own immediate interests just as they lack the logical decentration to understand that their town is included in a larger whole."

Stage 2 children can verbalize that Geneva is in Switzerland but they still tend to think of the two as being situated side by side. They will not deny that a Swiss living in another country is a foreigner but seem to feel that a Swiss is not exactly comparable to other people.

By Stage 3, when children fully grasp the ideal that Geneva is really part of Switzerland, the notion of country becomes a reality and takes on the idea of "homeland." This stage is reached somewhere between the ages of 7 and 11. These children have acquired the concept of reciprocity and will not state that Swiss are really right in thinking their country best.

Conclusions: The authors make two general observations: "One is that the child's discovery of his homeland and understanding of other countries is a

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process of transition from egocentricity to reciprocity. The other is that this gradual development is liable to constant setbacks, usually through the re-emergence of egocentricity on a broader or sociocentric plane."

TORNEY, JUDITH, & HESS, ROBERT, "The Child's Idealization of Authority," paper presented at the American Psychological Association, St. Louis, Missouri, 1962.

Purpose: To test out several possible explanations for the highly idealized image of the President held by children and the decrease in idealization which has been found to accompany increases in age.

Procedure: A structured questionnaire designed to elicit images of the President and fathers was given to approximately 1800 boys and girls of working and middle-class backgrounds. Two age groups were used: 7 and 9 and 10 and over.

Findings: The results were as follows:

(1) Because an explanation of this idealized image as the imitation of parental attitudes implies that children of parents with the same political party as the President should have more idealized images (because their parents do), children of the two parental groups of the two parties were compared. No differences were found.

(2) If positive idealization of the President is a generalization of a positive father image, then middle-class children who generally have a more positive image of the father than do children from working class homes, should have a more positive presidential image. This was not found.

(3) A third explanation gained the most support from the data. A

highly positive idealized presidential image is a projection of an ideal authority image arising from the psychological need to play down feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness (which is most prevalent among young children). The following predictions were made and information was obtained:

(a) Working-class children should show more idealization because their fathers are least close to an idealized image and because working-class children feel least protected and most vulnerable. This was found.

(b) Working-class girls, who feel most vulnerable and unprotected, should show more idealization. This was found.

(c) With increasing age comes cognitive differentiation of the President and his role from others, a greater knowledge of the Presidential role, and a decreased psychological need and ideal, the President should become a less appropriate object for the projection of ideals and needs, so idealization should decrease. Age trends are evident.

In conclusion the authors state that the perception of the President is found by an interaction between projection to satisfy psychological needs, cognitive differentiation and learning.

WEINSTEIN, EUGENE, "Development of the Concept of Flag and the Sense of National Identity," Child Development, 1957, 23, 167-174.

Purpose: To trace the development of the concept of flag and the sense of national identity and to assess the applicability of principles of concept

WEINSTEIN, "Development of the Concept of Flag," (cont.)

formation derived from other studies to a new content area.

Procedure: Forty-eight Bloomington, Indiana, elementary school children ranging in age from 5 to 12 years were individually interviewed. The battery of 22 open-ended questions included items asking for descriptions of the flag, where and under what conditions it flies, appropriate behavior in re the flag, whether or not the American flag could be changed, whether all countries have a flag, which flag is best and why, and whether someone from France would think the American flag is best. Responses were categorized and ranked for conceptual sophistication, then 10 scale types were delineated. These scale types ranged from Stage 1, in chich the child viewed the flag as something to celebrate with without knowing why, through Stage 10, in which the child perceived the flag as a symbol and related this symbol to his notions of country, people and government.

Conclusions: Scalagram analysis indicated that the order in which the elements of understanding were acquired and the types of relationships comprehended was fairly stable from child to child, thus supporting other studies using a Piagetian framework.

ZELIGS, ROSE, "The Meaning of Democracy to 6th Grade Children," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1950, 76, 263-281.

Purpose: The author set out to assess the meaning of democracy in a variety of settings to 6th grade children. No developmental analysis was attempted. Democracy, as used here, is an all encompassing term not given any specific political meaning.

ZELIGS, "The Meaning of Democracy to 6th Grade Children," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were 150 children from four 6th grade classes of a Cincinnati suburban school interviewed in October, 1946. Children were asked a series of questions about democracy (e.g. what does it mean, do we have it in school, at home, how do we try to practice it?)

Findings: "To these sixth grade children, American democracy means the right of all races and creeds to worship, to work and to vote for their leaders and law-makers. It means freedom of speech and press, the right to belong to any political party they please, equal rights, a fair trial in court, and justice for all, rich and poor, white and colored, Jew and Gentile. It means fire and police protection, a fair chance and free schools for all."

Conclusions: Most children seemed to feel that they experienced democracy in their homes and at school (democracy in this sense was largely defined as fairness on the part of parents and teachers). "These children know the meaning of democracy and value it highly."

EASTON, DAVID, & HESS, R. D., "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 1962, 6, 229-246.

Purpose: The broad problem in which the authors are interested is with regard to what subjects and through what processes of socialization are basic political orientations transmitted from generation to generation in the American political system?

EASTON & HESS, "The Child's Political World," (cont.)

To make this process of political socialization researchable they developed a conceptual schema involving three levels of a political system - government regime and political community - which interact with three types of political orientation - knowledge, values and attitudes.

Procedure: The present article reports preliminary data derived from a national survey of 12,000 elementary school children (paper and pencil questionnaire).

Findings:

(1) Before a child even enters elementary school he has acquired a good deal of political learning, e.g. that there is a difference between public and private sectors of life and that there is a higher authority outside the family whose rules must be obeyed.

(2) By the time the child enters high school his basic political orientations to regime and community have become quite firmly entrenched.

(3) The high point in reported political interest probably occurs in 7th or 8th grade.

(4) Children's positive feelings about their political community are related to general fondness for their immediate concrete environment.

(5) For many children support for the political community has religious overtones. God and country are often entangled. The authors attribute the impact to "an association in the child's mind of the form and feeling tone of religious ritual with the political ceremony of pledging allegiance."

(6) Children's attachment to the structure of the regime develops through recognition of an authority outside the family and school. In the United States the authority is represented to young children by the President and the policeman.

(7) The authors suggest that children's idealization of authority figures (political or otherwise) may reflect important psychological needs.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S.

These articles listed below all came out of the same study undertaken about ten days after the assassination of President Kennedy, and the findings are based on pencil and paper questionnaires administered to 1349 school children grades 6-12 in greater Detroit encompassing a population widely stratified with respect to social class, ethnicity, race and religion.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President", (from Children and the Death of a President: Multi-disciplinary Studies, edited by Wolfenstein & Kliman, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965)

This article contains material on 1) children's notions of justice, due process, etc.; 2) children's interpretations and reactions to the Kennedy assassination and a comparison to those of adults; and 3) a replication of some of the Hess and Easton items.

Children's comprehension of due process of law was tested via their reactions to Oswald and Ruby and their notions of the legal treatment that the two should have been accorded. Elementary school children had only very incomplete notions of the operation of due process and were frequently unwilling to accord Oswald the customary protection of our legal system. Social class differences were also pronounced--in general, lower class children were less concerned with due process of law. In their emotional reactions to the death of the President, children and adults were very similar (with the exception of reactions against Oswald, where adults were less vindictive). However, children differed from adults in their interpretation of events. Fewer children interpreted the murder of the President as an international or domestic conspiracy and only very few children even thought that a foreign power was involved. Except for

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President", (cont.)

the above-noted differences, the similarities were striking. The impact of political party also cannot be ignored; for example, children of Democratic parents professed to greater grief over the death than did children of Republican parents.

The replication of the Hess and Easton items corroborated their findings that children's view of the President is very positive, not to say idealized. However, the introduction of additional questions designed by us (several of them open-ended) would seem to indicate that children's idealization is not unlimited but tempered by the awareness that the system has endured Presidents who were not worthy of admiration. This finding would seem to indicate that the data which points to the idealization of the President and to the important role he plays in children's political imagery may be exaggerated and may be an artifact of the type of instrument commonly used to test imagery.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "The Political Image of President John F. Kennedy," (can be obtained by writing to the author)

Children at a remarkably early age seem to know a great deal about specific acts and issues for which the late President stood. Noticably, they were aware of his efforts on behalf of peace and civil rights. The detail of some of their knowledge makes one question whether children are as politically unaware of the environment around them as previous literature would have indicated.

Another finding seems to indicate that the children, even young children, see the President first and foremost as a political figure who is engaged in specific political actions and not merely as a symbolic figure, such as the leader of the chief executive, let alone as a father substitute. They also seem to be able to compartmentalize their feelings of personal like or dislike for the person of the President from their awareness and their approval or disapproval of political actions of the President. Political actions seem the more salient ones in the assessment of the President--at least by 10th grade. This would again indicate that the President is seen first and foremost as a political figure and not as a symbol or friend.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "Television and the Reactions of Schoolchildren to the Assassination", (from The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public, edited by Greenberg & Parker, Stanford Press).

The focus of this study does not deal so much with children's political concepts as with the contribution of television to children's comprehension of the fatal weekend. The one relevant point here to comment on is that although there were resemblances between the events of the assassination weekend and episodes frequently viewed by TV watchers in Wild West shows, few children transferred their Wild West viewing standards to the political scene; that is, few of them judged Ruby as a hero who avenged the country by killing the "bad guy".

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., editor, Political Socialization: Its Role in the Political Process, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361, September, 1965.

The volume contains a variety of articles which spell out either conceptually and/or empirically the linkage between family, school and other agents and the subsequent political imagery, attitudes and actions of children; see especially the article by David Easton and Jack Dennis abstracted above.

HUCK, CHARLOTTE STEPHENA, "The Nature and Deprivation of Young Children's Social Concepts," Northwestern University, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Field of Education, 1955.

Purposes:

(1) Determine the nature and amount of information possessed by suburban children in the first grade with respect to certain areas of the social sciences--political, economic, sociological, technological, geographical, historical, cultural and recreational.

(2) Determine when possible the stated sources of children's information.

(3) Ascertain relationship between level of understanding achieved for each concept and stated sources of information. Are some sources more accurate in that they provide for a greater depth of understanding of the concept?

(4) Ascertain relationship between amount of information in each area and the child's IQ.

(5) Ascertain sex differences in amount of information possessed.

Procedures: Subjects--114 first grade children (55 boys, 59 girls) from 5 schools in high socio-economic status North Chicago suburbs. Mean IQ for boys--112, girls--116, total 114. Kuhlman-Anderson Test B 107, or 94 % of children had television in their homes.

Children were individually interviewed in two sessions, October 1954 through January 1955, and asked for information on 75 concepts. Generally, there were 3 types of questions on each concept: 1) those asking for recognition or identification of a word, picture or object; 2) those asking for the function of an object or person or geographical location; and 3) those asking for further or extended information depending upon the nature of the concept.

HUCK, CHARLOTTE STEPHENA, The Nature and Deprivation of Young Children's Social Concepts," (cont.)

Examples of concept: Historical--dinosaurs, pyramids, Columbus, Pilgrims, George Washington, A. Lincoln, 4th of July, Wright brothers, covered wagon; Political--fire engine, community helpers taxes, election, Pres. Eisenhower, Russian, Queen Elizabeth, War.

Findings:

(1) Boys seem to have a greater fund of information concerning certain social studies areas than have girls.

(2) Both boys and girls seem to excel in their information concerning technological and recreational concepts.

(3) Historical concepts have little meaning for either boys or the girls. The periods which are the most remote from the present are the first to be learned. (n.b. this probably based on kid's interest in dinosaurs.)

(4) A child's grasp of a concept usually involves partial knowledge rather than complete knowledge or complete ignorance.

There was also some evidence that:

(1) Suburban children in the first grade have extended their information to include more than their immediate community environment. Or this might be stated that children's immediate environments had been extended to include more of the world and the universe.

(2) The more remote and dramatic concepts tend to be remembered more readily than do the near and familiar ones.

MEISTER, ALBERT, "Perception and Acceptance of Power Relations in Children," *Group Psychotherapy*, 1956, *9*, 153-163.

Purpose: This research was based on Piaget's distinction between two types of social relations--constraint (which implies an element of unilateral respect, authority and prestige) and cooperation (which implies exchange between equal individuals). The author wanted to examine developmental trends in children's acceptance of the two kinds of social relations.

Procedure: Two different studies are reported here. One was based on observations of 4 to 12 year-old children playing hopscotch. The sample consisted of 33 groups of 3 to 5 children each. In a separate but related study approximately 650 children aged 8 to 18 were asked the following questions: "When you play the 'game of catch' during recreation period, do you think that one of you must command, direct, or do you think that nobody must command?" (Yes or no.) "Who does command when you play the game during recreation period?" (Name.) "Why is it he who commands?"

Findings: From the hop scotch study the author concluded that group life passed through a stage of authoritarian relations (characteristic of ages 7 to 11) before equalitarian cooperative behavior was established. The transition phase from authoritarian to equalitarian structure is a long one which may be influenced by the difficulty of the task.

The second study revealed that an autocratic leader in a game of catch decreased regularly from 8 to 12 years after which it was rather stable (between 20 and 40%). With increased age children designate fewer and fewer leaders. The older children were so used to equal reciprocal relations that questions about the necessity of a leader (even with the word "to command" in the question) to them implied the idea of a democratic leader.

STRAUSS, ANSELM, "The Development of Conceptions of Rules in Children," Child Development, 1954, 25, 193-208.

Purpose: "This paper will report a study of the dawning of awareness of some rules governing transactions having to do with purchasing and will discuss the bearing that this material has both upon the development of moral rules in general and upon the theories currently accounting for this development."

Procedure: Subjects were 66 middle-class children ages 4½ to 11½ (approximately 5 girls and 5 boys at each age). A schedule of 71 questions was administered in 4 sittings lasting 15 to 30 minutes each. Items were scored by arbitrary weightings. Each child's responses to every item were scored and children were arrayed in rank order by total score. Guttman type scale analysis was then applied.

Findings: Children's awareness of rules is shown to develop through a series of stages, each of which is a necessary condition for movement to the next. In early stages, rules are definitional, they have no rationale except that they exist, and apply to specific situations. As higher stages are reached, rules cover more extensive activities of increasing numbers of related role players. To understand these more complex rules, the child must lose some of his egocentricity and learn to take into account simultaneously and systematically increasing numbers of perspectives.

Conclusions: Strauss feels his findings support George Mead's emphasis on the intimate relations between conceptual and role learning. Mead had underlined the importance of the development of the ability to grasp the related perspectives of others, and the parallel rise of symbols or concepts.

BRIM, O. G., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," Items, Social Science Research Council, 18, No. 1, 1964.

Socialization is conceived of as the process by means of which individuals acquire knowledge, skills and dispositions, both with relationship to behavior and values, that make them able members of society. It is assumed that childhood socialization cannot completely prepare a person for all the roles he will be expected to fill at a later time both because the individual moves through a sequence of different positions at different stages of the life cycle and because of changes of demands on a person due to social and/or geographical mobility and change in societal customs.

The author goes to to specify some of the different dimensions of the learner-socializing agent relationship and how this relationship may vary on these dimensions depending upon the stage of the life cycle. The dimensions specified and the resulting classifications are as follows:

(1) Degree of formality or institutionalization of the learner-agent relationship, made up of explicitness of role of learner and whether socializing agent represents formal organization. This yields:

  (a) formal organization, learner's role specified

  (b) informal organization, learner's role specified (most common in childhood socialization)

  (c) formal organization, learner's role not specified (most common in adult socialization)

  (d) informal organization, learner's role not specified.

(2) Group context of person being socialized, made up of whether group or individual is learning and whether series of groups or individuals are socialized or just one group or person is socialized. This yields:

  (a) individual, disjunctive

  (b) individual, serial

  (c) group, disjunctive

  (d) group, serial.

BRIM, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," (cont.)

These dimensions create another dimension of the socialization situation, which is the degree to which the learner can influence the agent. This influence is dependent upon the group solidarity of the group being socialized (allowing organization of resistance) and the degree to which socialized learners transmit information to learners following them, a serial situation, which allows learners to manipulate agents in their own interest.

(3) Quality of socialization relationship, made up of power of socializing agent and affectivity of relationship. This yields:

  (a) high power, affective -- affective rewards and punishment large (most common for childhood socialization)

  (b) high power, affectively neutral

  (c) low power, affectively neutral (most common in adult socialization)

  (d) low power, affective

(4) Content of socialization relationship, made up of whether knowledge skills (ability) or motivation is being passed on either with regard to behavior or values. This also leads to a classification of six categories. Childhood socialization is most concerned with inculcating motivation with regard to values (impulse control) while adult socialization is usually most concerned with the inculcation of knowledge with regard to behavior (carving appropriate role behavior).

Brim's article provides some interesting and useful dimensionalizing of the socialization process, and some interesting suggestions as to how the socialization process will vary along these dimensions at various stages of the life cycle.

EMMERICH, WALTER, "Family Role Concepts of Children Ages Six to Ten," *Child Development*, 1961, *32*, 609-624.

Purpose: This study investigated the development of children's concepts of intrafamilial sex and age roles, taking off from the theoretical position that role perception is an important determinant of social action.

Procedure: 225 middle-class children 6 - 10 years old were given a modified paired comparison test in which they were asked to decide which of two figures shown (mother-father, mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, father-daughter) had most power and also to indicate attitudinal direction (that is, positive or negative feelings) toward the figures presented.

Findings:

(1) Much greater consensus on power dimension of parent roles than on attitudinal dimension. Girls discriminated age roles on power dimension somewhat more than boys, although both groups assigned high power actions to the adult and low power actions to the child.

(2) Both girls and boys perceived the father's sex role as more powerful than the mother's. Girls perceive their mothers as more positive, boys - their fathers.

(3) In discriminating child sex roles, girls assigned positive actions to girls and negative actions to boys uniformly, boys apply it more selectively, depending upon the situation. For example, both boys and girls indicated that girls would be more likely to do the "right thing" and avoid trouble.

GOODMAN, MARY E., Race Awareness in Young Children, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1952.

Purpose: This book, reflecting the author's anthropological training, attempts a holistic approach to the basic question--How do race attitudes begin?

Procedures: Subjects were 103 four-year-olds from integrated nursery schools in an unidentified city in northeastern United States. Each child was observed at length. Case study records attempted to order information about the child, his identification, use of labels, social awareness and personal esthetic preferences, his living conditions, relations with his family, etc. Experimental stiuations involved doll play and jigsaw puzzles. Children were given family dolls of mixed colors and asked to make families. The jigsaw puzzles were specially constructed to assess children's consciousness of kind--both animal and human. The backgrounds and behavior of these children are presented in a highly readable fashion apparently designed to get the reader to "know" the children and what makes them tick.

Findings: Young children first see the more conspicuous features of people and the more conspicuous differences between them. Little children are ready to pay attention to race just as soon as they pay attention to other physical--and socially significant--attributes like age and sex. Moreover, in addition to this intellectual awareness, many four-year-olds, particularly white ones, showed signs of the onset of racial bigotry. "The process (by which patterned race attitudes get across to very young children) ... is perhaps less a matter of transmission than of regeneration. This is to say that there begins early and proceeds gradually, in each individual a process much more complex than the sheer learning of someone else's attitudes. It is rather that each

GOODMAN, Race Awareness in Young Children, (cont.)

individual generates his own attitudes, out of the personal, social and cultural materials which happen to be his ... our individuals tend to get hold of rather similar materials and hence eventually to generate rather similar attitudes." (p. 219).

HARTLEY, RUTH E., "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1960, 6, 83-91.

Purpose: In view of the widespread concern over the adjustment of women to their status and function, this study was undertaken to study the process by which sex roles are internalized.

Procedure: Subjects were 156 children--47 boys and 110 girls, ages 5, 8 and 11 years. Approximately half of the children had working mothers. These children were seen from 8 to 12 times and tested by widely varying techniques--play situations, pictorial and verbal tests, projectives, etc. Data reported here is derived from one pictorial projective type test and one indirect verbal device.

Findings: Of a total of 640 items mentioned for women, 64.5% were traditional domestic activities having to do with household care and management, child care and relations with husbands. Significantly more sons of working mothers than sons of non-working mothers assigned work role activities to women. Among girls, the fact of having a working mother apparently had less impact. Out of 143 subjects who gave scorable responses, approximately 64% perceived the woman as suffering some degree of discomfort at leaving a young child to go to work. This perception of discomfort gradually increased with age from

HARTLEY, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," (cont.)

53% at age five to 60% at eight, and 73% at eleven. This may be attributable to the lesser egocentricity of the older child or may reflect the more intensive work commitment taken on by mothers of 11-year-olds. The author suggests this may explain why significantly fewer 11-year-old girls than younger ones said they expected to work after they have a family.

Conclusions: Basic home-making duties are still seen as the woman's; the money-getting role is still primarily the man's. Whenever women are perceived to have assumed the work role, or fathers to be occupied with domestic activities, they are seen as helping the marriage partner. No hint of female-male competitiveness in sex role functioning seems to be perceived by children. Any changes seem to be merely in the direction of more flexibility.

HARTLEY, RUTH E., HARDESTY, FRANCIS P., & GORFEIN, DAVID S., "Children's Perceptions and Expressions of Sex Preference," Child Development, 1962, 33, 221-227.

Purpose: To investigate children's perceptions of parental sex preferences as one way to test out the widely held notion of male valuation and female devaluation in present day Western culture.

Procedure: Subjects were 132 eight and eleven-year-olds (91 girls, 41 Boys) from upper- and lower-middle class backgrounds. Children were told a hypothetical story about a couple going to adopt a baby and asked which sex child they thought the husband and wife would prefer. They were also asked about future family plans for themselves and whether they would rather have boys or girls.

HARTLEY et al, "Children's Perceptions and Expressions of Sex Preference," (cont.)

Findings: Both boys and girls perceived adults as preferring children of the same sex as the adult being considered. Similarly, a majority of girls expressed a desire to have girls when they became mothers, and most boys wanted to have boys when they became fathers.

Conclusions: "These findings seem to call into question the validity of the assumption that a culturally enforced adult partiality for males is generally operant in children's sex role identification and development."

HARTLEY, RUTH E., & KLEIN, ARMIN, "Sex -role Concepts Among Elementary School Age Girls," Marriage and Family Living, 1959, 21, 59-64.

Purpose: This study was designed to study by systematic methods what happens to girls in the process of growing up which may promote the pronounced and unresolved ambivalence evidenced so widely by adult women.

Procedure: A group of 272 eight and eleven-year-old girls, and 11 eight and eleven-year-old boys were given a list of activities, places and objects appropriate to certain roles and asked to identify them as characteristically male, female, or not sex linked.

Findings: Girls deemed 70% of the items to be sex typed, while adults sex typed 67% of the items. Recreational behaviors were sex typed the least. When asked what they would like to do when they grow up, girls expressed a preference for sex appropriate activities. No differences between eight and eleven-year-olds were significant.

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown. Their Awareness of the Symbols of Social Class. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

Purpose: To examine developmental trends in children's awareness of social class differences and such related questions as their perceptions of behavior appropriate to different classes and the extent to which their choice of friends seemed influenced by social class status.

Procedure: Subjects were 107 children in grades 1, 4, 6, and 8 representing three social class levels (which the author has labelled upper-middle, white collar, and working) from an unidentified midwestern city. Ratings on the social class position of each child were obtained from people in the community and group intelligence test scores were examined. In addition, in individual sessions, each child was interviewed, given a "Guess Who" test, and a picture rating task. The interview focused primarily on after school activities. In the "Guess Who" test, children were asked to guess the name of the child in the room who is the best ball player, has the most spending money, lives in the best section of town, etc. Four sets of pictures (depicting different types of homes, clothing, recreation and occupation) were shown to try to find out what symbols of class the children of different grade levels might recognize. The pictures had been chosen to convey scenes typical of various classes. A fifth set of pictures was used to find out if along with increasing awareness children were also developing ideas about certain aspects of social class behavior. This set included 8 pictures, 4 showing desirable behavior, 4 undesirable. Children were asked to associate pictures with social class levels and asked questions around the subject, e.g., do rich people ever steal?

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown (cont.)

Findings: Stendler devotes a chapter to analyzing results of each task. Putting this information together she posits the existence of 4 stages of awareness of social class levels. Stage 1 (Pre-awareness) is characteristic of most first graders and even some 4th graders. At this level the terms rich and poor have little meaning for the child; they are halo terms applied to things and people he likes or dislikes. He likes to boast about himself and therefore claims he and his friends are rich, he lives in the best house, has the most toys, etc. His choice of friends shows little awareness of class differences, and his career aspirations (cowboy, policeman, pilot) reflect a desire for color without regard for social class position. Stage 2 (Beginnings of Awareness) extends from before the 4th grade to beyond the sixth. These children can recognize some of the symbols of social class, particularly those with which they have had experience. They are most accurate in ratings of pictures and people representing lower classness than higher levels. They still do not know about the kind of houses in which their classmates live, or what their fathers do for a living. Social class is apparently not considered in choice of freinds or future occupations. State 3 (Acceptance of Adult Stereotypes) begins before 6th grade and continues through the 8th. "Here the children reveal their awareness of social class symbols in many ways. They can rate pictures according to class more accurately than before, and the reasons they give for their ratings have to do with the exclusiveness of what they see, or the money involved, or the privileges accompanying a particular class station. They rate the class position of their schoolmates on the basis of home and family, occupation of the father, clothes and manners, but they are reluctant to name class-mates for unfavorable socio-economic items and deny

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown (cont.)

class differences by stating the "nobody" represents the undesirable. They reflect the many contradictions about class which are prevalent in our culture." Stage 4 (Recognition of Individual Differences Among Children Regardless of Social Class) showed up in only a few children in the study. At this level the child knows what class symbols mean to most people, but he prefers to make judgments in terms of individuals.

VAUGHN, GRAHAM M., "Concept Formation and the Development of Ethnic Awareness," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1963, 103, 93-103.

Purpose: To examine the development of ethnic awareness within a framework of concept formation.

Procedure: Subjects were 180 white children between 4 and 12 years of age (20 at each age level) in nursery and elementary schools in Wellington, New Zealand. Children were given seven tests designed to measure degree of ethnic awareness.

Findings: Where the concept of race is involved, an identification response precedes ontogenetically the more usual discrimination response. Even the youngest children were able to show which of two dolls (one white, one Maori) was most like them and to select a picture of a white doll when asked which of six pictures (three white, three Maori) was most like them. Discrimination tasks involved picking out the picture which is different by virtue of race while classification responses were those in which the word "label" was actually used. No consistent or significant sex differences were found.

STEVENSON, H. W., & STEWART, E.C., "A Developmental Study of Racial Awareness in Young Children," Child Development, 1958, 29, 399-409.

Purpose: To study trends in the development of racial attitudes among young children.

Procedure: Subjects were 225 children between the ages of 3 and 7 from segregated school and neighborhoods in Austin, Texas. Both Negro and white children of both sexes were included at each age level.

Four tests, using pictures and dolls, were developed to investigate children's ability to discriminate the physical differences between Negroes and whites and their racial preferences and attitudes.

Findings:

(1) There is a great and relatively consistent increase with age in the proportion of children who correctly assemble dolls by age. At 4 of the 5 age levels the proportion of white children assembling the dolls correctly was higher than it was for Negro children.

(2) White children are much more likely to pick a doll of their own race to play with than Negro children.

(3) Negro children also demonstrated a greater frequency of own race rejection than white children in selecting playmates, companions to go home with, and guests for a birthday party.

DANZINGER, K., "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms: A Study in the Development of Relational Concept," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1957, 91, 213-232.

Purpose: To study development in children's understanding of kinship terms as one approach to the study of problems associated with the transition from non-relational thinking.

Procedure: Subjects were 41 children (20 boys and 21 girls) between the ages of 5 and 8 from a single school in Melbourne, Australia. In an interview lasting approximately 25 minutes children were asked questions about 5 kinship terms--brother, sister, daughter, uncle and cousin (e.g. What is a brother? Have you got a sister? Can a lady be a daughter? Can a father be an uncle?).

Findings: Definitions of kinship terms fell into three levels. Eight of the 120 responses were precategorical--the child merely mentioned the name of a person when asked to define a term. Categorical definitions (e.g. "A brother is a boy." "A cousin is a friend.") predominate at ages 5 and 6, while relational definitions (e.g. "A cousin is your uncle's son or daughter." "A daughter is mother's little girl.") are more common at age 8. Categorical stage children divide "individuals by their properties, but these are always thought of as simple attributes, not as relations uniting the individual with others." At this stage the failure to handle relations leads to a failure of logical multiplication. Children cannot conceive of membership in two classes at the same time.

Relational definitions were usually expressed in a specific way, but some children stated such relationships in general or abstract form. Children in the concrete phase of the relational level could usually grasp the reciprocity of a relationship between two people other than themselves, but that reciprocity broke down when they themselves were involved. The interconnection of relations and their permanence are the two most important characteristics of the general level of relational thinking. At the higher or general level the relationship is linked up with others to form a system and its definition derives from its position in the system.

Conclusions: Intellectual development requires the interaction of form and content. "Development therefore depends on the type of intellectual content that becomes available to the child during its growth."

ELKIND, DAVID, "Children's Conceptions of Brother and Sister: Piaget Replication Study V," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1962, 100, 129-139.

Purpose: To see to what extent the findings of Piaget about children's conceptions of brother and sister would replicate with a different population.

Procedure: Subjects were 210 five to eleven-year-old Jewish children from relatively small families. The series of questions developed by Piaget and reported in Judgment and Reasoning in the Child were used.

Findings: There was generally good agreement between the findings of the original and replication studies as to which tests were passed at various ages and the kinds of responses obtained. The interpretations placed on the results differ however. Elkind feels that Piaget's tests measured two developments - the class conception of brother and the relational conception of having a brother. While both class and relational conceptions developed in three stages, the stages were different in character and appeared at different ages.

HARTLEY, EUGENE L., ROSENBAUM, MAX, & SCHWARTZ, SHEPARD, "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference; An Exploratory Study of Children's Conceptualizations of Multiple Ethnic Group Membership," J. of Psychology, 1948, 26, 367-86.

Purpose: To study developmental trends in children's identification of themselves, their parents and neighbors, and children's understanding of the meaning of commonly used ethnic terms and multiple group identifications.

Procedures: Subjects were 42 boys and 44 girls aged 3:5 to 10:5, all of whom were attending either the nursery school or the after-school clubs of a neighborhood center located in the Bronx in New York City. All the children came from upper-lower class neighborhoods where the employed persons were generally craftsmen or skilled operatives. Forty-one of the children were Jewish, 26 Catholic, and 19 Protestants; 76 were white, 10 Negro. In individual interviews held in 1947, the children were asked questions about where they lived, what kind of people lived around their house, what they are, what is a Daddy, and what is a Daddy when he goes to work.

Findings: With increasing age children shift, in describing both themselves and the people around them, from the use of names of specific individuals to the use of ethnic designations.

In their disparate answers to questions, "What is Daddy?" and "When Daddy goes to work, what is he?" children gave evidence that changes in the structuring of the situation considerably influence conceptualization.

When asked to define "American" considerable numbers of children at each age level evade the question or indicate that they don't know. Among those who do answer, younger children tend to think of American in symbolic terms or as an activity level. Tautological responses (e.g. "American means to live in America") are common from 6:6 on up, as are activities. These two types of responses are still found in the 8:6 to 10:5 group and responses of

HARTLEY et al, "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference," (cont.)

a personal quality appear, e.g. "to be kind and nice."

Children at this age do not employ usual frames of reference. Thus many children felt it was possible to be both Jewish and Catholic but not Jewish and American or Negro and Protestant.

Conclusions: Four principles of the operation of frames of reference in self-identification, identification of others, conceptualization of ethnic terms and understanding of multiple group membership seemed to emerge: "(1) the primary frame of reference evoked by a defined situation varies with age and background; (2) at a given age, different, even though related situations evoke different types of reference frames; (3) alternative frames of reference used by children do not accord with adult logical systems; (4) reference frames, which to the adult are mutually exclusive, are not necessarily incompatible for children."

HARTLEY, EUGENE, ROSENBAUM, MAX, & SCHWARTZ, SHEPARD, "Children's Perceptions of Ethnic Group Membership," Journal of Psychology, 1948, 26, 387-398.

Purpose: To explore some of the developmental aspects of role perception. Special attention was given to the role of being Jewish in America and to awareness of shifts in role.

Procedure: Information about the ages at which children define themselves as Jewish and its meaning to them was obtained from individual interviews with the above mentioned sample of 86 children. Awareness of shifts in role was assessed through interviews with another sample of 120 children who were asked about parental roles and "worker" roles.

HARTLEY, et al, "Children's Perceptions of Ethnic Group Membership," (cont.)

Findings: Four ways of perceiving multiple roles were identified. The authors suggest that there may be a progression with age from 1 through 4.

(1) The person is perceived as identical with and limited to the single role in which he is observed...

(2) the individual is perceived as having at least one continuing role plus a number of momentarily occupied roles...

(3) the individual is perceived as consisting of all the roles he occupies...

(4) there is selectivity: an individual is perceived as functioning in a permanent or monentarily defined role but retains the potentiality for being other things.

The authors suggest that the manner in which an individual perceives a particular role must be of paramount importance in determining the meaning of specific situations for him.

KAGAN, JEROME, HOSKEN, BARBARA, & WATSON, SARA, "Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of Parents," Child Development, 1961, 32, 625-636.

Purpose: To investigate the child's differential conceptualization of the concepts of mother, father and self on a variety of symbolic dimensions.

Procedure: Subjects were 98 white children (59 boys and 39 girls) between the ages of six and eight. All were from intact families.

Sixty-six pairs of picture stimuli were used to assess conceptualizations. Each of 11 dimensions (strong-weak, big-little, nurturant-nonnurturant, competent-incompetent, punitive-nonpunitive, dangerous-harmless, dirty-clean, dark hue-light hue, cold-warm, mean-nice, and angular-rounded) was presented six times with six different pairs of relevant pictures. After E's verbal description of each stimulus, S was asked to point to the picture that he felt reminded him of his father, mother, and on the third session, himself.

KAGAN, et al, "Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of Parents," (cont.)

The final test which occurred in the third session consisted of 12 pictures in which a girl or boy was illustrated (separate pictures were used for boys and girls) in a situation but with no adult shown. The child was asked to state which parent was missing. The pictures were designed to suggest parental nurturance, punitiveness, or strength.

Findings: The results indicate that boys and girls agreed that father, in relation to mother, was stronger, larger, more dangerous, more dirty, darker, and more angular. There were no significant differences on the first part of the test where no choice was required between children's perception of one parent as being more nurturant, cold, or competent than the other. On the final test, when the children were forced to choose between parents, it was found that they perceived the mother as more nurturant than the father.

Children perceived themselves as being more similar to the same sex than opposite sex parent.

MOTT, SINA M., "Concept of Mother," Child Development, 1954, 25, 99-106.

Purpose: To investigate the conception of "mother" held by four and five-year-olds.

Procedure: Subjects were 18 four-year-olds and 18 five-year-olds. The children were told that the interviewer wanted to know more about their mother. They were asked what she looked like, what she did in the home, and then they were asked about her age, size, color of eyes, and color of hair. After these questions the children were asked five more questions, one on each of five successive days, depicting possible occurrences in the home. They were asked whether

MOTT, "Concept of Mother," (cont.)

their father or mother would be most likely to respond to the situation, e.g. "If you need a new pair of shoes, who will take you to get them?"

The second part of the test required the Ss to make five drawings, one on each of five successive days, They were asked to draw mother, mother and themselves, mother and father, family, and mother, father and yourself.

Findings: Mott found that in the drawings the mother was always drawn in the middle between the father and child. Further, the mother was always drawn smaller than the father and almost always larger than the child. The mother was most often depicted as working in the house.

She found that the child begins calling his mother "mother" or "mommy" (child-mother relation). The mother is next called "Mrs. ____" (family relation) and in due time the child is able to give his mother's personal name. One suspects that the labels a four-year-old child gives to its mother represent his awareness that his mother is called by different names but not his recognition of the relationships denoted by such labels. Mott's conclusion is that the meaning of "mother" becomes richer and more definite as the child matures.

PIAGET, JEAN, Notions of kinship from Judgment and Reasoning in the Child, trans. by Marjorie Warden. Patterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams, 1959.

Purpose: To get information on developmental stages in children's reasoning ability, more specifically their notions of relationship.

Procedures: Individual examinations were given to 240 children of both sexes between the ages of 4 and 12. There were six questions of varying orders of

PIAGET, Notions of kinship from Judgment and Reasoning in the Child (cont.)

of difficulty about family (brother-sister) relationships. An additional series of six questions about relationships of right and left was added to see if logical relationships in an area not influenced by egocentricity develops along the same line as those involving family relationships.

Findings:

(1) Children below age 10 can not tell how many brothers and sisters their own brothers and sisters have. Piaget attributes this to their inability to leave their own point of view.

(2) Ideas about class membership are much easier for children to learn than those involving relations.

(3) The relativity of the term "brother" is realized very slowly. At first one is a brother as one is a boy - in the absolute sense. In the second stage, the child has some notion of relativity but tends to identify only one child in a family as a brother. Correct judgment of relations appears about age 7.

(4) Children's definitions of family go through three similar stages:

  (a) All people who live with the child are considered family. Family is defined by house or name.

  (b) At about 9 the child begins to use the idea of blood-relationship but family relationship is not independent of time and place.

  (c) In stage 3, usually reached at about 11, the child defines the family solely by relationship and begins to think of family more broadly to include grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

Conclusions: The findings of stages of development in notions of kinship are related to stages of development in general reasoning ability.

Persons interested in knowing current research as it becomes available may find the following sources helpful:

1) Child Developmental Abstracts and Bibliography -- published three times a year by the Society for Research in Child Development.

2) Current Researches in Education and Educational Psychology -- occasional publication of the Information Service of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

3) Psychological Abstracts -- published bimonthly by the American Psychological Association.

4) Review of Educational Research -- published bimonthly by the American Educational Research Association.

The Encyclopedia of Education Research published by the American Educational Association of the National Education Association comes out about once a decade. It is a good point of departure for any studies in the area. See particularly the section on Concepts by David Russell in the 1960 edition which deals with the history of the study of concepts, children's knowledge of concepts, and teaching for concept development. A sizable bibliography is included.